National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

STREET YOUTH AND CRIME: THE ROLE OF LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCES

BY

STEPHEN W. BARON ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Edmonton, Alberta

FALL 1994

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA TO REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA DE REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-01790-7

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Stephen W. Baron

TITLE OF THESIS: Street Youth and Crime: The Role of Labour Market Experiences

DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1994

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

#101 10753 83rd Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T6E 2E5

August 23, 1994

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled STREET YOUTH AND CRIME: THE ROLE OF LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCES submitted by STEPHEN W. BARON in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

T F Hartnagel

Timothy F. Hartnagel PhD
Supervisor

James Creechan PhD

Leslie W. Kennedy

Leslie W. Kennedy PhD

Harvey Krahn PhD

Leendert Mos

Leendert P. Mos PhD

JT

Julian Tanner PhD
External Examiner

22 August 1994

ABSTRACT

STREET YOUTH AND CRIME: THE ROLE OF UNEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES

Fundamental adjustments in the Canadian economy and labour market have created structural unemployment and an underclass of under and unemployables locked out of the normal occupational structure of Canadian society. This developing underclass represents a potential source of a significant amount of criminal behavior and the possibility of a permanent major street-crime problem. The present research is based on interviews with 200 male street youth, a population vulnerable to unemployment and "at risk" for crime and substance abuse. The dissertation examines how street youth give meaning to their unemployment and poverty and how these interpretations influence their behavioral outcomes.

Results reveal that street youth are on the street, become immersed into a street lifestyle, and engage in criminal activities because their households were deficient in instrumental and relational control and abundant in coercive control. For those with negative familial controls, the street provides opportunities for all types of criminal behavior and increases the access to criminal peers who facilitate criminal conduct. The street also exposes, and makes available, a street lifestyle centered around drugs, alcohol and criminal behavior. Involvement in this lifestyle tends to deepen the youth's participation in an intensely interactive drug/crime relationship that make drug use and crime a "definitional characteristic of a preferred lifestyle." Further, living on the street serves to detach street youths from conventional society as they come to blame the social system for their predicament. The youth come to see the legitimate labour market as closed and turn to criminal activities that provide superior finances to conventional employment. Crime also provides structure to their day, excitement in their lives, and funds drug and alcohol habits. Their illegal behavior also offers them a sense of agency that the experience of unemployment and poverty attempts to strip away. Through crime the youths overcome the negative emotions generated by unemployment and display their ability to overcome societally induced feelings of failure. The youth exhibit methods to survive outside of those advocated by conventional society and in doing so dissolve and destroy their remaining attachments to that society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes to Dr. Timothy Hartnagel for his encouragement, understanding, effort, and care. His assistance in the conceptualization and construction of this project were immeasurable. His constructive insights and informal suggestions helped bring the study to fruition and ultimately completion. His calming influence and humour made difficult times more tolerable, and his knowledge and thoroughness improved both myself and the dissertation. His confidence in my abilities, and his friendship will always be appreciated.

I am also very grateful to Dr. Leslie Kennedy who provided moral and intellectual support while showing me that academics can strive for creativity in their work. To Dr. James Creechan, I express sincere thanks for his availability to listen to my confusion, and dilemmas and for providing understanding to often uncomprehensible situations. I am indebted to Dr. Harvey Krahn who at times asked the simple questions that had to be asked for large gains to be made. His moderate, yet incisive, challenges and the understanding of what I was trying to conceptualize and articulate consistently improved my own understanding.

I thank Dr. Leo Mos for contributing to my development His genuine interest produced insightful and challenging questions.

I convey special thanks to Cliff Kinzel who reviewed my research instrument, and provided coding guidance, and limitless help in the data cleaning. To Dave Odynak I express my gratitude for helping me in times of computor troubles and for creating some of the diagrams in the dissertation. I would also like to thank the Silvermans for their aid.

I am very grateful for the financial support that was made available to me. During doctoral studies, I was the recipient of a Province of Alberta Graduate Fellowship, a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Fellowship, a Walter H. Johns Graduate Fellowship and a University of Alberta Dissertation Fellowship. Further, the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta provided funding that contributed to the completion of the research as did the Centre for Criminological Research through a contributions grant from the Solicitor General of Canada.

I am indebted to the participants of this study for their time, effort, views and in many cases friendship. They allowed me to enter a world that many of us do not know exists and made it understandable. Without them and their cooperation, this research would never have been possible. I wish them luck in an uncertain future.

A number of individuals sustained me in special ways. Friends such as Frank Grigel and Mike Morrell always provided perspective in their own unique ways. Others, such as Dave Tindall and Richard Ogmundson, who played vital roles in my early progress, continued to exert their positive influences. My father, sister and grandmother provided spiritual support

on many occasions.

Finally, to my special friend Kathleen, who was there for both the good and the bad, whose mammoth patience and understanding was more than anyone should ask or expect, I offer infinite gratitude. Her companionship and the confidence she had in my abilities were a source of strength that I drew on often.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction.....1
Recent Trends in Employment.....2
Poverty, Homlessness, and Street Youth.....5
Homelessness and Crime.....6

2: THEORIES EXPLAINING UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

Rational Choice Theory.....9
Strain Theory.....9
Subcultural Theory.....10
Routine Activities Theory.....12
Control Theory.....13
Theoretical Issues.....15

3: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

Aggregate Evidence.....20
Critiques of Aggregate Research.....21
Individual Evidence.....24
Homelessness, Unemployment and Crime.....28
Literature Summary.....33

Research Questions.....34
    Background Factors.....34
    Labour Market Factors.....37
    Street Factors.....39
    Emotional and Attributional Factors.....41

4: METHODS

Sample Choice.....45
Data Collection.....47
Safety.....51
Measurement.....53
    Measuring Crime.....54
    Crime Indexes.....57
    Independent Variables.....58
        Background Measures.....58
            Age, Family Structure, Class Background.....58
            Parental Unemployment.....59
            Instrumental, Relational and Coercive Control.....60
            Education and School Commitment.....62
            Criminal Background/Current Living.....62
        Labour Market Factors.....63
        Street Involvement Measures.....64

        Attributional and Affective Reaction
        Measures....65

5: DESCRIPTIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Descriptive Results....68
    Life on the Street....69
Age....74
    Race and Style....75
    Clique Formation....76
        Group Conflict....77
        Group Support....78
    Current Living Circumstances....81
    Family Class Background....84
    Family Structure....86
    Family Relationships....87
    School Background....101
    Commitment to School....102
    Reflections on Leaving School....111
Employment Histories and Labour Market Difficulties....114
    The Employed....114
    The Unemployed....117
    Explanations of Unemployment....127
    Internal Attributions....127
    External Attributions....130
    Why Do Others Have Jobs?....132
    Affective Reactions....141
        Negative Affect, Societal Expectations and Unemployment....144
        Negative Affect and Difficulties Gaining Employment....148
        Negative Affect, Tedium and Unemployment....151
        Lack of Affect, Indifference to the Labour Market, and Unemployment....154
        Lack of Affect, Alternative Labour Market, and Unemployment....157
        Lack of Affect, Employment Availability, and Unemployment....159
        Lack of Affect, Societal Expectations, and Unemployment....161

6: CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES AND SUBSTANCE USE

Criminal Activities....165
    Property Crime....170
    Violent Offenses....172
    Drug Sales....174
    Other Crime....175
Alcohol and Drug Use....176

Alcohol Use....................176
  Drug Use....................177
  Drugs and Alcohol on the Street....................181
Summary....................183

7: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Property Crime....................188
  Property Crime Model....................191
Violent Offenses....................198
  Violent Crime Model....................200
Drug Sales....................205
  Drug Crime Model....................206
Total Crime....................210
  Total Crime Model....................214
Endnotes....................223

8: CONCLUSION

Summary of the Results....................224
Background Factors and Crime....................224
  Instrumental, Relational and Coercive Control......224
  Social Status, Family Structure and Family Unemployment....................226
  Education and School Commitment....................230
  Prior Criminality....................232
  Current Living Circumstances....................233
  Age....................234
Labour Market Factors....................236
  Joblessness, Unemployment and Discouragement.......236
  Employment Histories....................238
  Legal Income....................238
Street Factors....................239
  Subcultural Influences and Criminal Street Peers....................239
  Street Involvement: Crime for Drugs and Crime Under Drugs....................242
  Homelessness....................244
Attributional and Emotional Factors....................246
  Internal Attributions....................246
  External Attributions....................248
  Affective Reactions: Guilt, Helplessness, Depression....................249
  Affective Reactions: Anger....................251
  Perception of Financial Well-Being....................253
Summary of Important Variables....................254
Research Contribution....................256
Theoretical Questions....................257
  Theory....................257
  Future Research....................259

CHAPTER PAGE

REFERENCES..262

APPENDIX A..277

APPENDIX B..289
    Total Crime Regression..............................289
    Property Crime Regression..........................290
    Violent Crime Regression...........................291
    Drug Crime Regression..............................292

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE DESCRIPTION PAGE

3.1 Variable List....................................44

4.1 Means and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables............................58

4.2 Means and Standard Deviations of Logged Dependent Variables....................58

4.3 Means and Standard Deviations of Background Variables...........................63

4.4 Means and Standard Deviations of Labour Market Variables........................64

4.5 Means and Standard Deviations of Street Variables...............................65

4.6 Means and Standard Deviations of Attributional and Affective Variables.........67

5.1 Sample Style.....................................75

5.2 How Important Best Friends Approve of Behavior..................................79

5.3 How Often Has Anyone Helped you Steal.........79

5.4 Current Living Circumstances..................81

5.5 Months Living Away From Parents in the Last Year..............................82

5.6 Months NFA in the Last Year...................83

5.7 Family Class Background.......................85

5.8 Parents Last Lived With.......................87

5.9 Instrumental Control..........................88

5.10 Relational Control...........................88

5.11 Viewed Parents Drunk.........................94

5.12 Viewed Parents Use Drugs.....................94

5.13 Parental Use of Discipline and Intentional Punishment to Cause a Bruise or Bleeding......96

TABLE DESCRIPTION PAGE

5.14 Experience of Minor or Serious Sexual Abuse....96

5.15 Last Year of School Completed....102

5.16 Average Grades Last Year of School....103

5.17 Types of Courses in School....103

5.18 School Attendance....104

5.19 How Often did you do Homework....104

5.20 How Often did you have Trouble with Teachers....105

5.21 Schooling Like to get Eventually....114

5.22 Employed's Perceptions of Financial Situations....115

5.23 Unemployed's Perceptions of Financial Situations....126

5.24 Competence Scale....128

5.25 Interview/Adequacy Scale....128

5.26 Motivation Scale....129

5.27 Recession Scale....131

5.28 Employment Corresponding to Abilities....131

5.29 Feel Guilty About Unemployment....142

5.30 Feel Angry About Unemployment....143

5.31 Feel Helpless About Unemployment....143

5.32 Feel Depressed About Unemployment....144

6.1 Number of Offenses Total Crime Index....166

6.2 Number of Offenses Per Offender Total Crime Index....169

6.3 Number of Offenses Per Offender Property Crime Index....171

6.4 Number of Offenses Per Offender Violent Crime Index....173

TABLE DESCRIPTION PAGE

6.5 Number of Offenses Per Offender Drug Sales Index....175

6.6 Alcohol Use in the Last 30 Days....176

6.7 A Drug use on Average over the Last Year (Marijuana/Psychedelics)....178

6.7 B Drug use on Average over the Last Year (Cocaine/Amphetamines)....178

6.7 C Drug use on Average over the Last Year (Barbiturates/Tranquilizers)....179

6.7 D Drug use on Average over the Last Year (Heroin/Other Narcotics/Inhalents)....179

6.8 Engaged in Crime for Drugs or Alcohol....181

6.9 Attacked Someone While Under the Influence of Drugs and Alcohol....182

6.10 Stolen Something While Under the Influence of Drugs or Alcohol....183

7.1 Statistically Significant Variables Explaining Property Crime....189

7.2 Path Coefficients Property Crime Model....192

7.3 Cell Means and N's for Interaction Effect Between Age and Delinquent Peers....194

7.4 Cell Means and N's for Interaction Effect Between Length of NFA and Perceived Blockage of Legitimate Opportunities....196

7.5 Statistically Significant Variables Explaining Violent Crime....198

7.6 Path Coefficients Violent Crime Model....201

7.7 Statistically Significant Variables Explaining Drug Sales....206

TABLE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
7.8	Path Coefficients Drug Sales Model	207
7.9	Statistically Significant Variables Explaining Total Crime	211
7.10	Path Coefficients Total Crime Model	212

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
7.1	Property Crime Model	219
7.2	Violent Crime Model	220
7.3	Drug Sales Model	221
7.4	Total Crime Model	222

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Research indicates that advanced capitalist societies are undergoing a number of structural transformations. Recessions, rapid technological change, and fierce international competition have led to fundamental changes in the Canadian economy and labour market. Evidence of industrial restructuring can be seen in the growing dominance of transnational corporations, deindustrialization leading to layoffs, shutdowns, and the large-scale movement of capital to previously economically underdeveloped areas. Restructuring can be further witnessed in the elimination of factory and office jobs due to new technological developments, the increase of nonstandard employment including part-time, part-year and temporary work, as well as an increasingly segmented labour market containing more poor paying jobs in a lower tier service sector (Hartnagel, 1990; Hendry, 1987; Krahn and Lowe, 1993; McCrae, 1987; Sullivan, 1989; Wright, 1989).

One of the significant results of these processes has been the emergence of structural unemployment: a persistent, deeply entrenched, possibly permanent, high rate of unemployment where the number of jobless far exceeds the total number of available jobs (Inciardi et al., 1992; Krahn and Lowe, 1993). Perhaps even more significant is the evidence that structural unemployment is creating a more-or-less permanent group of under and unemployables locked out of the normal occupational structure of Canadian society with little chance to ever escape poverty. Whereas the previous generations of poor held the least desirable jobs in society, this new generation has little hope of any employment (Box, 1987; Inciardi et al., 1992; Neice, 1987; Polk, 1984; Wilson, 1987).

The impact of this situation on young people is already apparent in the distressingly high rates of youth unemployment. Lacking avenues into conventional adult roles, imperilled by their unemployment and poverty at an early age, and often denied the minimal state assistance available, these youth are left to fend for themselves. Alienated from conventional society, this group represents a potential source of a significant amount of criminal behavior and substance abuse. In short, the possibility of continued structural unemployment is equivalent to the possibility of a major street-crime problem. The objective of this project is to examine the labour market experiences of street youth, a segment of the population particularly vulnerable to the restructuring of the labour market, and document the role these experiences play in the genesis of criminal behavior and substance abuse.

RECENT TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT

An examination of labour force statistics reveals a long-term upward trend in unemployment (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). Box (1987) notes that between 1965 and 1985, the official unemployment figures in Britain increased by a factor of ten, leaving by some estimates one in seven people out of work. For the same period, the rate in the U.S. more than tripled from 3.4 million to nearly 11 million unemployed, for a rate of one in ten of the potential workforce. Canadian rates have undergone a similar growth (Hartnagel, 1990; Krahn and Lowe, 1993). In 1965 the official unemployment rate in Canada was 3.9%. During the 1980's Canadian unemployment peaked at 11.8%. While these rates decreased in Canada to 7.5% in 1989 (Statistics Canada, 1989) they had returned to 11.2% by 1993 (Statistics Canada, 1993).

There is also evidence to suggest that the duration of unemployment episodes has increased. Box reveals that in 1965 Britain, one quarter of the unemployed found work within two weeks with another quarter finding employment in less than two months. In 1985, 40% of the unemployed had been so for over a year, and an additional 20 % had been unemployed between 6 and 12 months. In the US, the average length of unemployment has increased from 11 weeks in 1965 to 20 weeks in 1985. In Canada the average length of unemployment in 1985 (Statistics Canada, 1988) was 21.7 weeks, and remained at 19.4 weeks in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1991).

It is the young (aged 15-24), particularly those with the least education (for example, high school dropouts), who are the most vulnerable to unemployment (Polk, 1984; Duster, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Krahn and Lowe, 1993). Data reveal that at the end of 1985, 1 in 4 British males and 1 in 5 females aged 18-24 were unemployed. Nearly one-quarter of the long-term unemployed were young males and just over one-third were young females (Box, 1987). In the US a similar pattern exists. The unemployment rate for white males aged 16-19 in 1983 was twice that of males aged 20-24 and triple that of older males. For American blacks and hispanics, the differences are just as marked, and the numbers are higher (Box, 1987). In Canada, youth unemployment rates doubled from 9.7% in 1973 to 19.9% in 1983 (Hartnagel, 1990). These rates dropped steadily to 11.3% in 1989 (Statistics Canada, 1989) only to return to 20.2% for males aged 15-24 by 1993 (Statistics Canada, 1993).

The numbers not included in these labour force statistics should also be considered. Those who are out of work but who are not actively looking for work are not counted as part of the labour force. Some have referred to this group as the "subunemployed" (Redpath, 1991; Sullivan, 1978). This classification includes the so-called "discouraged workers" who have given up seeking employment because they no longer believe they will be hired. While excluded from statistics, it is estimated that in 1991, the annual average number of discouraged workers was 55,000 (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). The limited research available indicates that youth are among those overrepresented among these discouraged workers (Krahn and Lowe 1993).

Contributing to youth employment problems is their relegation to certain labour markets. Researchers note that there is not a single open labour market operating in our society. Instead, better and worse jobs tend to be found in different settings. According to dual labour market theorists, workers in the primary sector tend to have well paying jobs with good benefits, higher status, and a high degree of job security; whereas the secondary labour market is characterized by low paying jobs that lack status, extensive benefits and long-term job security (Edwards, 1979; Gordon et al., 1982; Krahn and Lowe, 1988; Redpath, 1991). Generally, there are only a limited number of positions in the primary labour market and entry is restricted to those with the proper credentials - a degree, a union card, or membership in an organization, access to which are all in themselves restricted. Other barriers to the primary labour market include the lack of access to information about positions and employer discrimination in hiring. Those unable to gain access to jobs in the primary labour market often become ensnared in a market characterized by poor paying jobs that lack avenues for advancement and experience episodic unemployment as they move between inferior engagements (Krahn and Lowe, 1993).

Industrial shifts leading to occupational changes also contribute to youth employment problems. Data indicate a continuing decrease in the resource (including agriculture, mining, forestry, and other resource extraction industries) and manufacturing sectors (manufacturing and construction) coinciding with large increases in the service sector. In 1951, 22% of the workforce worked in the primary sector with another 31 % employed in the secondary sector. In 1991 only 6% of the Canadian labour force was found in the primary industries while 23% of it was in the secondary sector. Thus, the service sector has grown from 47% of all employed Canadians in 1951 to 71% of the labour force in 1991 (Krahn and Lowe, 1993).

This expanding service sector contains a range of occupations and working conditions. The service industry can be divided up into a number of subcategories including an upper tier containing such services as business, education, health and welfare, and public administration; and a lower tier characterized by retail trade and other consumer services. It is within the upper tier that the better jobs are located and in this sense the upper tier can be described as a primary labour market. In comparison the lower tier can be viewed as a secondary labour market since it is dominantly composed of the poorer classifications of employment. The employment opportunities that are available to the young are heavily concentrated in the secondary or lower tier service sector where jobs are primarily low-paying and part-time, and offer few avenues for meaningful career advancement (Burman, 1988; Krahn and Lowe, 1988, 1990; Levine, 1979; Myles, Picot, and Wannell, 1988; McCrae, 1987; Sullivan, 1989).

The decline of the resource and manufacturing sectors means that many of the traditional entry portals into the work world have disappeared for the young and the distinct segmentation of the service sector market restricts entry into employment areas that might provide viable careers. As outlined by the dual labour market theorists, many employers in the upper tier service sector seek out new employees who possess relatively high levels of qualifications (such as college degrees, if not graduate study) for entry level positions, sometimes requiring at least some experience in the industry (Polk, 1984). The result of these trends has been to increase the number of marginal youth by making it increasingly difficult for adolescents and young adults to find secure and career-oriented employment, especially in the upper tier service sector.

Yet another development that has influenced the employment opportunities of young workers is the increase of nonstandard work arrangements (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). Nonstandard work takes a variety of forms including part-time work, part year work, and temporary work. In reaction to recent economic events, many employers have replaced full-time workers with part-time workers or part-year workers and eliminated permanent positions, replacing them with temporary positions. While admittedly some workers enter these alternative work arrangements for private reasons, many others are forced into such positions due to poor employment conditions. That is, numerous may accept part-time or temporary work because there are an insufficient number of permanent full-time jobs to meet demands. These nonstandard jobs are usually poor paying, provide few, if any, benefits, and tend to be less secure. The number of involuntary part-time workers has grown from 11% of the roughly one million part-time work force in 1975 to 28% of the over 2 million part-time workers in 1991. Young workers are well represented among the involuntary part-time work force. In 1991, 31% of young part-time workers (aged 15-24) were involuntary. Their presence is also felt amongst those in temporary employment and part-year work. In 1989 14% of those aged 15-24 worked in temporary jobs and another 14% in part-year employment. In all, taking into consideration the overlap between classifications, the numbers indicate that 44% of those aged 15-24 were employed in either a temporary, part-time or part year position.

The increase in these nonstandard work arrangements has led to discussions of "underemployment" to describe these different forms of marginal employment in relation to full or adequate employment. Thus, those workers who work part-time but would prefer full-time employment are categorized as underemployed (Redpath, 1991; Sullivan, 1978). The term underemployment has also been used to describe low-income employment where workers in full-time jobs receive employment related incomes which are insufficient to support themselves or their families (Clogg et al., 1986; Redpath, 1991). Considering the concentration of youth in the secondary employment sector and their heavy participation in nonstandard work arrangements, it seems fair to suggest that many can be considered underemployed.

POVERTY, HOMELESSNESS, AND STREET YOUTH

The concentration of employed youth in service sector ghettos leads Webber (1991) to argue that poverty is now as much a consequence of low wage work or underemployment as it is of welfare dependence. She reveals that in 1988, 48.9 per cent of the low-income families were in the work force. After paying federal and provincial income tax, Canada pension plan contributions, and Unemployment insurance premiums, the minimum wage worker in 1989 Canada grossed 9360 dollars at a $4.50 per hour wage, took home 8305 dollars, or 160 dollars a week. This amounted to 3732 dollars less than the CCSD's poverty line ($12,037) for a single person in a city with a population over 500,000. Webber calculates that wage earners working full time for legal minimums take home 20 to 30 per cent below the federal government's defined cost of subsistence. People who work under these circumstances have, along with the welfare dependent and those who have no sources of income at all, been referred to as the "extremely poor", a pool from which the homeless are drawn (Rossi, 1989a; 1989b).

It is not surprising that many have argued that contemporary homelessness stems from the changing labour market that has eliminated many of the jobs that once provided employment to people with few skills (Rossi, 1989a; 1989b; Wright, 1989). Rossi and Wright note that the homeless tend to hold part-time jobs requiring little previous experience or highly honed skills at very low wages. This type of employment fails to provide them with sufficient income to house and feed themselves, and the housing market fails to provide them affordable shelter leaving them little alternative but to have no fixed address.

An extreme manifestation of this contemporary homelessness is the growing population of "street kids": youths under the age of 24 who have left school, and "hang out" on the street on a regular and permanent basis (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; Radford et al., 1989; Smart et al., 1990). The majority of this population are under/unemployed, often lack permanent residences and spend significant amounts of time without shelter . Their lives are characterized by poverty, hunger, and other conditions of extreme deprivation (Palenski, 1984, Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987a; 1987b; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992.; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992; Webber, 1991).

Webber (1991) estimates that 58% of the homeless population in Toronto is aged 18 to 25 and argues that this same mid-teen to mid-twenties trend is evident across the country. Many of the nonhomeless street youth have similar experiences. They are forced to rely on state support and social agencies for survival, sleep in public places on occasion, and possess extensive "street knowledge" (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991).

Contributing to this population are a number of neglected, abused, abandoned, and runaway youth. There are some indications that deprivation of necessities (neglect) is the most common type of child maltreatment. To a large degree neglect can be directly linked to the income of the parental household (Garbarino 1989; Inciardi et al., 1993). The consequences for children from low income households include all the traditional risks of poverty, including poorer health, parents too exhausted from the struggle for economic survival to supervise them properly, poorer chances of finishing school, and low probabilities of economic success as adults (Hewlett, 1986; Inciardi et al., 1993; Sidel, 1986).

However, other symptoms of serious family impairment are estimated to afflict 20- 40 percent of Canadian families (Rodgers, 1988; Webber, 1991). Included in these are physical abuse, mental torture and sexual travesties. Many of the victims run to the street to escape their harmful situations.

The literature also reveals that runaways tend to have a large number of problems in school, including conflict with school authorities (Brennan et al., 1978; Gulotta, 1979; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987a; 1987b; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992; Palenski, 1984; Rothman, 1991), which would indicate a paucity of the credentials needed to secure well paying employment. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that street youth lack access to employment that pays a living wage, and as a result when they can find work end up in jobs that cannot both house and feed them (Webber, 1991).

HOMELESSNESS AND CRIME

A number of studies have suggested that the street experience encourages lawbreaking. However, it is unclear exactly what aspects of homelessness or other predetermining factors account for crime and delinquency among homeless youth and adults. For example, some research alludes to a positive relationship between homelessness and illegal activity, (Janus, 1987; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987a; 1987b; Palenski, 1984) but the researchers neglect to provide precise data on either the extent of crime or its relationship with homelessness. Other research has documented high unemployment within this population (for homeless adults see Jahiel, 1987; Rossi, 1989a; 1989b; Snow et al., 1989; Wright, 1989; and homeless youth see Brennan et al., 1978; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987a; 1987b; McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992; Palenski, 1984; Radford et al., 1989; Rothman, 1991; Smart et al., 1990) but again is unable to produce sufficient evidence to support any causal relationship.

As a result of the less than definitive results, some have disputed the causal ordering between aspects of homelessness and criminality suggesting that in fact delinquency and criminality lead to leaving home. They indicate that the background factors that encourage crime and delinquency on the street are the same ones that stimulate youth to leave home and take to the street in the first place (Brennan et al., 1978; Gold and Reimer, 1974; Nye, 1987). Muddying this debate on causal ordering is the evidence that questions the strength of both the homelessness-crime and background-crime relationships. Some available research fails to find any relationship between crime and homelessness (Goldmeirer and Dean, 1972) or shows that the relationship may be conditional on the number of homeless episodes. However, as has been the pattern in this type of research, exact data on criminal activity are not provided.

More recent work concludes that both background factors and street factors, including unemployment, influence criminal behavior (Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992). Hagan and McCarthy (1992; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992) argue that background factors and experiences lead to being on the street, while street experiences in turn further contribute to involvement in crime. However, they admit that street life is something of a "black box," and call for researchers to show exactly what specific conditions, experiences and aspects of life on the street causes delinquency.

Some researchers have pointed out that people's reaction to economic adversity may have a more important influence on criminality than the direct relation between economic factors and crime (Box, 1987; Box and Hale, 1985; Hartnagel, 1990; Horowitz, 1984; Wright, 1981). For instance, the response to unemployment may depend very much on what it means to those experiencing it. This meaning may vary across a number of factors including age, gender, class, and available social psychological resources. The meaning of unemployment is also influenced by what people believe caused their unemployment, and the actual and perceived duration of their unemployment (Box and Hale, 1985; Hartnagel, 1990; Horowitz, 1978; Pearlin et al., 1981; Macleod, 1987). Therefore, crime may be a response of only a sub-population of the unemployed and homeless and may still be contingent on other factors.

Considering the recent changes in labour markets and the increases in youth unemployment and the number of street youth, it seems crucial to tackle the unresolved roles homelessness and unemployment play in the genesis of crime. The goal of this thesis is to investigate the part background factors, labour market problems, and street influences play in the causation of youth crime. At the same time it will explore young people's reactions to, and interpretations of, their economic adversity and unemployment and the effect these have on their behavior.

An attempt to address the issues of criminality and drug abuse amongst street youth must first more thoroughly examine a number of relevant areas within the criminological literature. This perusal begins with the theoretical literature that has been applied to explain the postulated relationship between crime and unemployment. Discussion will then proceed to the empirical literature pertaining to unemployment and crime. Here a review of both the aggregate and individual level studies will illuminate the current state and direction of research on unemployment and crime. The findings and critiques of the aggregate research will provide the rationale to conduct individual level research, while the findings of existing individual level studies will provide direction toward those avenues which appear fruitful for further exploration. The available research pertinent to street youth and crime will then be reviewed. It is expected that these reviews will demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of the past research and provide the framework to formulate research hypotheses in the attempt to explain the relationship between labour market problems and crime amongst street youth.

Completing the examination of the theoretical and empirical literature in Chapters 2 and 3, and the development of research questions, Chapter 4 will outline the methodology of the present research. This will enable a review of a number of issues including sampling: who was chosen and why; where the research took place; the interviewing process; and the development of measures. The chapter will elaborate on the gathering and analysis of the two different types of data, qualitative and quantitative, that are utilized to examine the research problem.

Chapters 5 and 6 will then proceed to a descriptive overview of the data, exploiting the available qualitative data from the interviews and the field notes. These data are an essential component of the analysis in our attempts to understand the subjective experiences of the street youth being interviewed. Further they provide a contextualized demonstration of situations that can be fitted into the framework of trends produced in the quantitative analysis to follow in Chapter 7. Chapter 7 presents statistical models designed to give some sense of the influence background variables, labour market problems, street factors, subjective interpretations and affective reactions have in crime causation. An exploration of interactions between significant variables will follow. Finally, in Chapter 8 the results and their theoretical implications will be summarized, as well as suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORIES EXPLAINING UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

There has been no shortage of explanations offered to account for the possible unemployment/crime relationship. This section will focus on five different approaches: rational choice, strain, routine activities, subcultural, and control, and proceed to explore other theoretical issues important in possibly explaining the unemployment crime relationship.

RATIONAL CHOICE

A number of researchers have utilized the basic idea that the lack of viable employment leads to financial hardship, which in turn leads to criminal behavior in an attempt to alleviate the hardship (Thornberry and Christianson, 1984; Farringtion et al., 1986; Allan and Steffensmeier, 1989; Orsagh and Witte; 1981). This economic, or choice model assumes rational actors who calculate the perceived relative costs and rewards of legitimate employment and crime. Included in the actor's calculations are both the more objective variables of employment status, job stability, and earnings as well as the social and psychic dimensions of job satisfaction and the quality of the individual's work experiences. Furthermore, the perceived likelihood and type, formal or informal, punishment for crime must be considered. This model predicts that involvement in licit activities, both in terms of employment and the economic returns one receives from employment, will reduce criminal activity. Thus, the unemployed person, or the person who perceives their wages, or job, as unsatisfactory, who believes the odds of apprehension and social punishment minimal, and the social and material rewards great, will view criminal behavior as an attractive alternative to scarce, or poorly paid employment.

STRAIN THEORY

A similar argument proposes that whenever legitimate opportunities to achieve success are closed to individuals, they may utilize illegitimate means to obtain their goals (Merton, 1957). Since in a meritocratic society the major avenue for realizing success is the occupational one, it follows that during unemployment episodes people will experience a failure to achieve culturally defined goals of success and attempt to reach these goals through illegitimate means. Crime becomes a source of employment and income. This has been referred to as an "innovative" adaptation (Merton, 1957).

However, criminologists have speculated that certain types of subjective interpretations under these conditions may lead to different types of behavioral responses, including retreatist and rebellious adaptations (Merton, 1957). Retreatism refers to the adaptation whereby both the culturally approved goals and socially acceptable means are rejected. Retreatists essentially drop out of conventional society. Rebellion refers to the adaptation whereby cultural goals and socially acceptable means are rejected, like retreatism, but unlike retreatism, new goals and means are advocated, including success and status through delinquency (Cohen, 1955).

Box (1987) and Hartnagel (1990) have both argued that strain theory also contains a relative deprivation component that is key to understanding frustration and criminal reactions. Where people are aware that others in a comparative reference group have incomes equal to or greater than their own (the greater this perceived gap between groups, the greater the magnitude of relative deprivation), and are desirous of a higher income (this desire should increase the intensity of relative deprivation), then relative deprivation is more likely to occur (Box, 1987; Stack, 1984). Krahn and Harrison (1992) note that relative deprivation might also evolve from self-referencing, a process where one's current situation is compared with one's own previous or anticipated future situation. Stack believes that although relative deprivation leads to a sense of injustice, it will not necessarily produce more crime. The degree of perceived deprivation and injustice may be contingent upon the acceptance of the societal meritocratic ideology. Thus, those poor and unemployed who are convinced that their employment difficulties and poverty are the result of their own personal flaws or inadequacies, who do not feel that their economic situations are unfavourable relative to comparable others or their own pasts, and who devalue economic achievements, are less likely to react with criminal behavior (Box, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Merton, 1957). However, crime is more likely when conditions generated by wide and widening levels of income distribution foster feelings of animosity and when persons experiencing relative deprivation believe the system is at fault but do not believe it can, or will, be drastically improved. In particular, those who feel a greater degree of deprivation may suffer more, feel more frustrated, and respond to their situation with criminal behavior.

SUBCULTURAL THEORY

An important reformulation of strain theory emerges from the Subcultural school of criminology. Subcultural theorists assume the existence of a dominant ideology that stresses the achievement of mainly status oriented (Cohen, 1955) or financial goals (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). While these goals are seen to transcend class lines, subcultural theorists point out that working class youths are handicapped by the inadequate resources required to achieve success in a middle class dominated system. According to Cohen (1955) this first becomes apparent in the school system where the lower class youths are unable to compete with the more advantaged middle class youths. For Cloward and Ohlin (1960) this frustration stems from the "marked discrepancy between culturally induced aspirations...and the possibilities of achieving them by legitimate means" (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960:78). In either case, lower class youth are unable to achieve these goals as easily as middle class youth and become alienated from the dominant conventional society. One response to the strain experienced by these youth is to search for the source of their frustration and failure. This usually results in either blaming oneself for the failure or blaming institutions. Since success is measured by individual criteria, failure is an individual problem which if causally accepted deflects criticism from the institutional order. However, subcultural theorists argue that many youths externalize the blame for their failure onto the larger society and seek or develop group or collective solutions that enable to them to overcome status and financial frustrations. Youth in this situation tend to gravitate towards one another, developing new frames of reference under which status is attained and alternative routes to financial success organized. Sensing failure and contempt, they together attempt to develop new norms, new standards and criteria for success that are more readily achieved. This new cultural form, the delinquent subculture, resolves their problems more effectively than any solutions offered by institutional means and provides an environment where the dominant meritocratic ideology can be rejected. In fact, much of the behavior deemed meritorious by the group is directly opposite to conventional middle class standards: the group offers illegal means for attaining financial success and status.

In sum, these theorists predict that those youth who are failures in the school and/or labour market may come to blame the system for their failure and join with others who have experienced similar failure in these spheres to form a group where criminal behavior is accepted, rewarded, and perhaps even demanded. Those who accept and internalize the blame for their failures are unlikely candidates to participate in a delinquent group since they have in essence accepted the dominant ideology of success and failure.

The key difference between the strain and subcultural arguments is that the latter stresses the collective process in the reversal of middle class standards and crime as a group solution. Further, the subcultural adaptations provide support, and pressure for illegal activities, in contrast to the strained individual who stands alone.

The concept of subculture has also been used extensively by criminologists to account for violent behavior. Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) subculture of violence theory proposes that variations in the use of violent behavior stem from the adherence to subcultural normative systems that support and encourage violence. The subculture of violence does not completely oppose the dominant culture, nor is it characterized by violence in every situation. Instead, the violent subculture promotes a relatively greater number of conditions under which violence is expected or required of it members.

Subcultural theories generally propose that certain structural locations are characterized by high rates of violence because a significant proportion of the actors occupying these positions are favourably disposed to, and acts in terms of, a culture that sanctions violence (Curtis, 1975; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Gastil, 1971). Thus, the poor and the unemployed may be more disputatious and aggressive than individuals who occupy other structural positions because of their cultural associations.

ROUTINE ACTIVITIES

Another basic explanation suggests that unemployment increases the amount of spare time a person has at his/her disposal and hence provides more opportunity to offend (Farrington et al., 1986). Alternatively, it has been argued that the unemployed may become bored and/or frustrated and engage in crime to alleviate the boredom or frustration (Farrington, 1986). Related to the above explanations is the idea that bored, frustrated, unemployed people may spend their time together, thus facilitating offending. There is a physical reality: individuals who are not fully involved in the local labour market spend significant amounts of time with nothing to do. It is likely that they frequently pass time in local taverns, pool halls, and on street corners. What is relevant here is the fact that irregular employment helps create a "situation of company" where potential victims and violators coexist, and this is conducive to crime (Crutchfield, 1989; Hindelang et al., 1978; Felson and Cohen, 1980). It is important to note here that unlike the subcultural theories just reviewed, routine activities theorists assume no group solutions, pressures or supports. Instead they suggest that employment difficulties may lead actors to gravitate to the street creating unorganized, unstable groups that facilitate offending. These groups may share values and beliefs that are permissive of delinquency but subcultural influence on delinquent activity is secondary. Their effect is predicated on the prior existence of individuals already freed from strong commitments to convention.

Routine activities theorists view street crime as a product of opportunity which arises in the ongoing activities that occur on the street. The probability of crime increases with the convergence in space and time of three factors: motivated offenders, suitable targets and an absence of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Felson and Cohen, 1980; Lauritsen et al., 1991; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990). The lifestyles which lead one to bar behavior and to being on the street lead to situations in which these factors coincide to present offenders with opportunities to commit crime (Jensen and Brownfield, 1986; Kennedy and Forde, 1990a; 1990b).

Routine activities theorists suggest further that the chances of crime may increase through the "principle of homogamy" (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990). Individuals increase their opportunity for crime or victimization the more frequently they come into contact with, or associate with, members of demographic groups which contain a disproportionate share of offenders. It is argued, for example, that young males leading "risky lifestyles" out on the street, are more likely to become victims of crime because they are more likely to come in contact with, and associate with other young males who are themselves involved in offending (Kennedy and Forde, 1990b; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990; Lauritsen et al., 1991).

The routine activities theory also suggests that criminal and deviant lifestyles directly increase victimization because of the nature of offending itself. Jensen and Brownfield (1986:87) have argued that "offense activity can be considered as a characteristic of lifestyles or as a type of routine activity which increases the risk of victimization because of the motives, vulnerability, or culpability of people involved in those activities." They suggest that it is the "criminogenic potential" of certain routines that accounts for their "victimogenic potential." Individuals heavily involved in certain lifestyle patterns are not merely more available and in close proximity to potential offenders, but are more involved in activities that are likely to be associated with offensive behavior as well (Jensen and Brownfield, 1986).

It has also been argued (Lauritsen et al, 1991; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990; Sparks, 1982) that offenders are ideal targets because they can be victimized with impunity. "Offender victims" are less likely than "non-offender victims" to report to police in fear of implicating themselves. Further, if they do report their victimizations, "offender-victims" may have less credibility with the police than those victims without offending histories. As a result, offenders can be viewed as attractive to other offenders. Routine activities theory also stresses the importance of ecological factors in explaining victimization (Garofalo, 1987; Lauritsen et al., 1991). Proximity to crime has an effect on victimization. Thus, the levels of crime in certain areas represent an important structural determinant of risk.

CONTROL THEORY

The last theory that offers an explanation for the hypothesized unemployment/crime relationship is control theory. Control theorists suggest that unemployment reduces people's bonds to conventional societal institutions. Hirschi (1969) has identified four components of the social bond: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. The first element of the bond, attachment, refers to the extent to which people are bound to others (family, friends, teachers) through feelings of respect and affection, and through the socialization to group norms. Attachment sensitizes individuals to the wishes and expectations of others and thus constrains deviant behavior.

Commitment, the second element, refers to the investment one has in conventional society or the degree to which people develop a "stake in conformity" so that deviant acts are viewed as jeopardizing valued conventional achievements. Concern about the loss of reputation, employment, or educational careers are examples of commitment. The third element is the involvement in conventional activities. It is assumed that to be involved in these activities restricts the opportunity to engage in delinquent activities. Belief is the final element, referring to the allegiance to a common or dominant value system. Those who do not believe in the value system, or believe in it to a lesser degree, are more likely to deviate.

Hagan (1989) provides further elaboration to control theory by distinguishing between types of control: relational and instrumental. Discussing instrumental control, Hagan argues that parents who monitor their childrens' activities and peers are able to identify and sanction antisocial behavior and isolate their offspring from potentially unsuitable environments, situations and associations that might lead to criminal activities. Referring to relational control, Hagan suggests that strong emotional ties within the family are vital in the generation of the social bond. He points out that these bonds emerge in a congenial home atmospheres where chilren become concerned about what their parents think of them.

In sum, according to control theory, the level of offending will be higher among those lacking strong emotional and supervisional attachments to others, particularly family members, who do not see their future offering good prospects for achieving social and material success, and who do not subscribe to the moral principle that rules ought to be obeyed regardless of detection (Box, 1987; Hagan, 1989, Hirschi, 1969).

Box (1987) has argued that unemployment can weaken social bonds. First, it affects attachment because it threatens to weaken, and in some cases destroy family relationships. The increased tension, resentment and bitterness which accompanies higher levels of unemployment and widening economic inequalities is often displaced onto family. In turn this fractures the attachment between family members who then feel freer to deviate because they care less about what other family members think of them. These conventional attachments may be replaced with attachments to deviant peers who support criminal behavior (Box, 1981; Elliot et al., 1985; Kornhauser, 1978).

Second, the absence of employment delegitimizes commitment. The unemployed individual has fewer stakes in conformity to be jeopardized by criminal conduct. Not having much to lose, they become strong candidates for criminal activity when they experience unacceptable unemployment or unemployability. However, Hartnagel (1990) notes that this interpretation of the effect of unemployment on commitment may depend on the individual's interpretation of, or reaction to, the employment difficulties. That is, if the unemployed person continues to actively search for a job, maintains reasonably high job aspirations and expectations and espouses the work ethic, then commitment will remain high in spite of the fact of unemployment.

Finally, unemployment affects individuals' beliefs in the legitimacy of conformity to conventional rules and norms. With the stability and the socializing influence of the family undermined, and the relevance of work negated, the belief that lawbreaking is wrong becomes weakened. Thus, not only does unemployment produce more individuals who have a motive to deviate, but it also creates within this population a group who feel free to deviate because they do not have loved ones to whom they are sensitive, they do not view the future as sufficiently rosy to justify making a stake in conformity now, and they do not believe that all law breaking is intrinsically wrong (Box, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Hirschi, 1969).

THEORETICAL ISSUES

Despite these theoretical explanations, there are still a number of outstanding theoretical issues. A number of researchers have called for greater attention to be paid to the variables linking unemployment and crime (Box, 1987; Box and Hale, 1985; Hartnagel, 1990; Horowitz, 1984; Wright, 1981). Box (1987; Box and Hale, 1985) has pointed out that people's interpretation of their labour market situation plays a large role in shaping their response to it. The response to unemployment depends very much on what it means to those experiencing it, and that this meaning varies across gender, age, class, and ethnic divisions as well as being contingent on what people believe caused their unemployment, and the actual and perceived duration of their unemployment (Horowitz, 1978; Pearlin et al., 1981, Box and Hale, 1985; Macleod, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990). Yet none of these isses is adequately dealt with by current criminological theory.

One avenue that seems particularly promising, because it attempts to deal with how people interpret their labour market experiences, has utilized an attributional approach (Feather, 1990). Attribution theory is concerned with how people explain outcomes and what determines their attributional explanations. Applying this framework to the analysis of unemployment effects allows for the examination of how people explain unemployment and whether different kinds of causal attributions are linked to different behaviors.

Researchers have identified a number of different attributional styles that people adopt, including a dimension of locus (internal/external). Within the locus dimension, people may attribute the cause of their unemployment to either internal factors such as the lack of ability, skill, appearance and effort, or alternatively, to external causes such as a poor economic environment, high unemployment, or poor government.

While attribution theory provides us with a dimensional framework that illustrates how people explain outcomes, it also attempts to link these causal attributions to people's affective states. In other words there is the assumption that how we think will influence how we feel. Feather (1990) has outlined a number of affective states that unemployment might possibly generate, including guilt, anger, helplessness, and depression and argues that one would expect to find different reported feelings about being unemployed depending in part upon the causal attributions that the unemployed person makes. He suggests that specific effects may be linked to particular kinds of causal attributions. For example, an attributed cause of unemployment that is external (government inaction to relieve unemployment) may elicit anger; a cause that is seen by the person as involving an internal aspect of self (effort) may elicit guilt.

There is also some evidence that there are outcome-dependent effects (for example, happiness following a positive outcome, dissatisfaction or frustration following a negative outcome) that depend on the nonattainment or attainment of a goal (Weiner, Russell, and Lerman; 1978; 1979). Thus, being unemployed may have some effect on people's emotional states which may in turn influence their behavior.

Finally, attribution theory assumes that attribution and affect together determine action. Weiner notes that there is a motivational interpretation to attribution theory. The attributor is not simply a seeker of knowledge: his latent goal in attaining knowledge is that of effective management of himself and his environment. Once a cause, or causes are assigned, effective management may be possible and a prescription or guide for future action can be suggested. If the prior outcome was a success, there is likely to be an attempt to reinstate the prior causal network. On the other hand, if the prior outcome or event was undesired, then there is a strong possibility that there will be an attempt to alter the causes to produce a different (more positive) effect.

In sum, the attributional model implies people undertake a causal search to determine why outcomes occur by forming attributions. These attributions affect emotional reactions and together, as well as individually, determine action.

We might utilize this approach to explain how people interpret their unemployment, how their interpretations influence their affective states, and how these affective states and interpretations influence criminality.

We can draw from the body of theoretical work already examined to ground this perspective in a criminological tradition. The strain position appears to offer the most complete parallel to the attributional approach. Box (1987) and Hartnagel (1990), argue that the relationship between under/unemployment and the type of adaptation adopted varies with the degree of acceptance for the justifying meritocratic ideology. If the individual blames her/himself rather than the economic system for their unemployment problems, they are less likely to feel a sense of frustration due to their occupational deprivation and react with criminal behavior. Instead they may blame their inability to secure or retain a good job on nothing less than a flawed personality. For these self-recriminating people, the social psychological effects from unemployment might include anxiety, depression, the loss of structure in one's life, the growing sense of purposefulness, the loss of identity, all of which may be responded to through alcohol and/or drug abuse and a further withdrawal, or retreat, from participation in the economic system. Their self-blame may lead directly to these behaviors or it may be mediated by the emotional responses it generates.

A second possibility is that the unemployed may blame the system for their position and decide to engage in criminal behavior. The sense of thwarted ambition will be exacerbated and experienced acutely by those who feel they are excluded from the avenues of success by the operation of unfair and discriminatory criteria. The sense of injustice, discontent, and distrust generated by the apparent contradiction between proclaimed values and norms and social experiences becomes, among certain groups, too deeply vexatious. They may engage in crime out of resistance, protest and active indignation. Criminal behavior may emerge out of the external attribution alone or from the emotional response it generates.

We might also exploit the emotional reaction component of the attributional perspective from the position of control theory. From the control view, the lack of emotional reaction to unemployment may demonstrate a lack of bonding to the labour market leaving the youth free to engage in criminal behavior. Youth who lack commitment to, and belief in, the conventional system will be unbothered by their lack of employment. Alternatively, those who still have some attachment to the labour market will tend to express some reaction in the form of guilt, anger, depression, and helplessness over their joblessness. The anxiety, despair, distress and concern revealed in the reaction to their unemployment displays this attachment to the utmost.

Another theoretical issue to explore outside the traditional criminological tradition is employment stability. A number of studies suggest that employment stability (Sampson and Laub, 1990), as well as satisfying and rewarding work experiences, is more important in predicting behavior than is simple employment (Long and Witte, 1981; Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982). Thus, many of those who are employed in poor jobs may also be at risk for substance abuse and criminal conduct.

There is also some evidence that the amount of social assistance available influences whether one will become an offender or not (DeFronzo, 1983). The modern welfare state buffers many of the unemployed against economic need through unemployment compensation, welfare, and other programs (Allan and Steffensmeier, 1989; Horowitz, 1984; Cantor and Land, 1985). Further, other financial aid often is forthcoming from families, friends, and charitable organizations. Thus, it cannot be argued that the financial stresses created by unemployment are likely to be so severe as to immediately motivate people to criminal offenses. But as benefits and other sources of financial and psychological support decline and/or stop, individuals may be more likely to engage in criminal offenses (Cantor and Land, 1985).

Support from other people is another social resource that may buffer the impact of economic adversity. In a review of social support literature, Horowtiz (1984) confirms that economic hardtimes can be moderately buttressed by social support from family and peers. While research indicates that interpersonal supports increases people's ability to cope, it is unclear how social support varies between different gender, age, and social class groups, how people put their support network to use and the relative effectiveness of different styles of coping with economic adversity. All of these issues must be addressed when examining the under/employment crime relationship.

Finally, how people from various social classes experience and react to unemployment must be explored. Some have suggested that those from lower status backgrounds are more at risk for criminal behavior when unemployed (Farrington et al., 1986; Sullivan, 1989; Thornberry and Christenson, 1984; Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982). Others have suggested that other background factors best explain the relationship between class background, unemployment and crime (Inciardi et al., 1993; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992). Recent theoretical formulations suggest that family socialization within class stratums concerning participation in the sphere of production, risk-taking and rewards may be vital in explaining the differential participation of individuals from certain family class backgrounds (Colvin and Pauly, 1983; Hagan, 1989). In sum, experiences in certain class locations may influence actors responses to unemployment.

With the theoretical summary complete, the review now proceeds to a survey of the literature concerning unemployment, homelessness, and crime.

CHAPTER THREE

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

The existence of a strong relationship between unemployment and crime has been hypothesized for over a seventy-five years in the social science literature (see, e.g. Bonger, 1916; Cantor and Land, 1985; Ehrlich, 1975; Ferri, 1881; Fliescher, 1966; Glaser and Rice, 1959; Philips et al., 1972; Sellin, 1937; Thomas, 1925). However, almost from the first, there have been a number of scholars who have discounted or dismissed the relationship between unemployment and crime (Fox, 1978; Long and Witte, 1981; Orsagh, 1980 Cantor and Land, 1985; Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985). These claims have come to constitute a "consensus of doubt" about the empirical and theoretical grounding of the unemployment-crime relationship (Chiricos, 1987). The review of the relationship between crime and unemployment will begin by examining the work using aggregate data and then move to more recent work utilizing data on individuals.

AGGREGATE EVIDENCE

Since the late 1970's many social scientists have concluded that the unemployment-crime relationship measured at the aggregate level, is both inconsistent and insignificant. (Fox, 1978; Long and Witte, 1981; Orsagh, 1980 Cantor and Land, 1985; Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985). Chiricos (1987) suggests that this "consensus of doubt" calls into question the strength, the significance, and even the direction of the unemployment-crime relationship (i.e. whether positive or negative). Long and Witte (1981) and Cantor and Land (1985) argue that the "very persuasiveness and persistence of this finding" suggests that this fact itself should be an important object of explanation. Yet a close examination of the major reviews of the unemployment-crime research suggests more optimism.

Gillespie (1978), in a review of 21 studies published between 1959 and 1975, reported a predominance (11/21) of "significant positive relationships." He characterizes the strength of the relationship between unemployment and crime as neither trivial nor substantial, but modest. Property crimes more than crimes of violence tended to more frequently show the predicted relationship. Long and Witte (1981) in a review of 16 studies conclude that there was a generally insignificant positive relationship between unemployment and criminal activity... "which tends to be more strongly supported in respect to property crimes." Freeman (1983) in a review of 18 studies comes to similar conclusions. He notes that the majority of studies show a significant relationship between unemployment and crime although the relationship is not overhwelmingly strong. These studies all describe a relationship that is more consistently positive than we might have expected considering recent accounts.

In the most thorough review of aggregate research to date, Chiricos (1987) reveals that the preponderance of evidence from both cross-sectional and time-series studies does favour the existence of a positive, frequently significant unemployment-crime relationship. His analysis indicates that for all crimes combined, the unemployment-crime relationship is three times more likely to be positive than negative and more than 15 times as likely to be significant/positive as significant/negative. In general, the relative frequency of positive and significant findings is highest for property crime, particulary burglary and larceny, and lowest for assault and murder. Of further importance is the finding that the unemployment-crime relationship differs significantly across time periods. For every crime category (including violent crime), the percentage of positive significant results are higher for 1970's data than for pre-1970's data. In other words "what may have been an "inconsistent" relationship in the 1960's, became overwhelmingly positive, and frequently significant in the 1970's." Chiricos explains this finding by pointing to the huge increase in unemployment during the 1970's, the largest since the depression.

CRITIQUES OF AGGREGATE RESEARCH

While the closer look at the reviews concerning unemployment and crime have uncovered some room for optimism, we must not be too quick to accept their results at face value. Studies utilizing aggregate data have been subject to numerous and sometimes severe methodological criticisms (Horowitz, 1984; Long and Witte, 1981; Orsagh and Witte, 1981; Farrington et al., 1986b). Allan and Steffensmier point out that, contrary to the argument of some that the unemployment crime relationship is well-ploughed terrain, there are in fact very few studies that have focused specifically on the impact of employment conditions on crime. They surmise that most of the published research findings are derived from research that includes unemployment only as an exogenous variable of interest. Even those studies that have been designed explicitly to test the employment crime relationship suffer from measurement and statistical flaws. Some of these include collinearity among the independent variables; the inappropriate partitioning of data on certain variables, and/or the failure to include controls for socioeconomic or law enforcement variables that may suppress or enhance the job involvement/crime relationship (Allan and Steffensmeier, 1989).

Orsagh and Witte (1991) have noted that the need to introduce control variables into empirical analysis raises particularly knotty problems. For example, in regression analysis, the common technique of the selection of variables to include and exclude is often arbitrary, yet the decision often materially affects statistical outcomes. They imply that the results of empirical research on aggregate data are to a considerable extent the artifacts of discretionary research efforts. Hence, they are not surprised that empiricists have neither discovered a consistent, reasonably precise relationship between economic status and crime, nor reached a consensus that such a relationship does not exist.

There are additional problems with the aggregate research. Horowitz (1984) notes that interpretations of the aggregated independent variables are often ambiguous and warns of the dangers of the ecological fallacy, where individual differences are inappropriately inferred from the analysis of aggregate data (See also Farrington, 1986). As Farrington points out, even if unemployment rates and crime rates are correlated over time, this does not necessarily mean that unemployed individuals are more likely to commit crimes than employed individuals.

Chiricos (1987) provides evidence that the choice of the geographic unit of analysis can also influence results (see also Allan and Steffensmier, 1989; Horowitz, 1984). He notes that the unemployment crime relationship for property crimes is most consistently significant at the intracity level and least significant at the national level. He suggests one explanation for this is a aggregation bias where national level data may cancel out differences in unemployment and crime that characterize different sections of cities or cities themselves. Alternatively, he implies that lower levels of aggregation may capture "milieu effects." That is, high unemployment may have a demoralizing effect on a neighbourhood, or section of a city that creates a climate of despair with criminogenic consequences even for those not directly unemployed.

Considering Chiricos' observations about national level data, it becomes crucial to recognize that most time-series analyses of the unemployment crime relationship have tended to utilize such data. This immediately calls into question the results of the time-series research. Horowitz (1984) has argued that time-series research suffers from additional flaws. First, there are difficulties in interpreting temporal lags in the time-series research. Second, time-series research is subject to the possibility that the meaning of both the independent and dependent variables will change over time. For instance, Cantor and Land (1985) contend that the substantive changes in the Uniform Crime Reports in the US in 1958 "make pre and post-1958 data incompatible" (1985:323). This makes interpretation of time-series results troublesome. All of these criticisms and observations serve to inject a further degree of uncertainty into the aggregate findings.

A problem also lies in the nature of the data. The expected impact of youth measures are rarely if ever attained because there is a lack of age-grouped crime data. Chiricos (1987) notes that at present it is difficult to obtain such data. Without age-specific crime rates, we are limited to measuring the relationship between age-specific unemployment and an undifferentiated crime rate. The age-specific research that does exist generally reports a positive association between depressed labour market conditions and crime (Allan and Steffensmier, 1989). However, Allan and Steffensmier (1989) note that these studies fail to provide a conclusive test of the unemployment-crime relationship for specific age groups because they do not provide age specific measures of the independent variable, or do not include controls for other important factors related to both crime and the labour market.

Some scholars have also pointed out that the definition of the independent variable is subject to problems (Allan and Steffensmier, 1989). The official measure of unemployment does not actually tap joblessness per se, but job seeking, and job seeking may reflect commitment to work rather than illegitimate pursuits (Allan and Steffensmier, 1989). Thus, it may be argued that the most criminogenic groups- teenagers, members of the underclass, persons with major alcohol and drug problems- may not participate in the labour force in either bad or good times. If this is the case, then fluctuations in the general unemployment rate may neither reflect their economic position nor influence their criminal activities (Horowitz, 1984). Furthermore, while unemployment may increase motivation, others have pointed out that it may decrease the opportunity to commit crimes if less money and goods are available and more people are in their homes to provide guardianship (Cohen et al, 1980; Horowitz; 1984).

Finally, a number of researchers (Orsagh and Witte, 1981; Long and Witte, 1981) have noted that the crime-unemployment relationship is based on a micro-foundation, whereas the evidence is based on aggregate data. The theories apply to a population of individual offenders, whereas the data often relate to a more general population. The theories assume subjective feelings while the data adopt objective criteria. Long and Witte (1981) note that the use of aggregate data can provide reliable insights about individual behavior only if certain restrictive distributional or sociological assumptions hold. In practice, however, they admit that the assumptions seldom hold. Farrington (1986) argues that in order for criminologists to draw conclusions about individuals, it is necessary to carry out research on individuals and concludes that aggregate research has probably exhausted its potential to illuminate a connection between unemployment and crime (See also Tarling, 1982).

For our purposes, these reviews underscore how little we really know about the issue and how weak the research to date has been (Allan and Steffensmeier, 1989). Furthermore, aggregate research has all but ignored youth unemployment (Chiricos, 1987; Allan and Steffensmeier, 1989). Chiricos argues that before the question of age-specific unemployment can be adequately addressed, discrete age-grouped crime data are needed. Thus, some may argue that the above reviews settle few issues. While this may be the case, they do demonstrate that the well ploughed terrain of unemployment and crime should not be abandoned to the "consensus of doubt."

INDIVIDUAL EVIDENCE

The focus now turns to the research that has centered on individual data to directly explore the nature of the relationship between economic viability and crime (Box, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Long and Witte, 1981). While sparse, it offers us some interesting insights on the crime-youth unemployment relationship.

A number of studies indicate that unemployment does have an effect on offenses involving material gain (Bachman et al., 1978; Crowley, 1984; Farrington et al. 1986; Hartnagel 1990; Hartnagel and Krahn, 1989; Samuelson, 1988; Shavit and Rattner, 1988), but there is less evidence that violent offenses increase when unemployed (Farrington, 1986; Hartnagel, 1990; Hartnagel and Krahn, 1989; Samuelson, 1988). In one of the few studies that indicated an increase in interpersonal aggression (the other being Crowley, 1984), Bachman et al. (1978) note that the differences in aggression are largely (though not entirely) a reflection of long standing patterns preceding unemployment. However, they conclude that unemployment remains an environmental or experiential factor which may have some direct impact on aggression.

These general results are complicated by a number of other findings. Farrington et al. (1986) found that crime amongst the unemployed was more apparent in those who lost lower status jobs, for youth predicted to be most delinquent (those with low income, poor housing, large family size, poor parental child-rearing behavior, including cruel or neglecting parental attitude, erratic parental discipline, and parental conflict, low verbal intelligence, and convicted parents), and for younger subjects. In light of these findings they suggest that the criminogenic effect of unemployment is largest for those with the greatest potential for offending and conclude unemployment does not cause basically law abiding youths to commit crimes (see also Hartnagel, 1990).

Similarly, Thornberry and Christianson (1984) found that unemployment exerts a rather immediate effect on criminal behavior for those less socially advantaged groups such as blacks, subjects from blue-collar backgrounds and those who were delinquent prior to age eighteen. However, Thornberry and Christianson also report significant effects between unemployment and crime amongst the more advantaged group. Thus, while results varied by social background, there was a significant relationship between unemployment and crime regardless of background.

A number of researchers have also discovered that employment stability and the length of unemployment are important in predicting criminal behavior (Hartnagel, 1990; Hartnagel and Krahn, 1989; Samuelson, 1988, Sampson and Laub, 1990; Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982). Hartnagel and Krahn (1989) found that the greater the number of jobs an individual has held, and the greater the total number of months the individual has been unemployed, the larger the number of court convictions and the greater the property crime involvement, although the effect of months unemployed is somewhat weak. Using the same data set, Samuelson (1988) replicated these findings, but suggested a somewhat stronger relation between total months unemployed and total crime. Sampson and Laub (1990) support this, arguing that job stability modifies the tendency to persist in deviant and troublesome behaviors over the lifespan. However, similar to the research above (Farrington et al, 1986; Thorberry and Christianson, 1984), Hartnagel's (1990) findings suggest that it is amongst those with criminal histories that the length of unemployment exerts its strongest effect on criminal behavior.

Thornberry and Farnworth's (1982) findings further complicate the job stability issue. They found that job stability did not affect either self-reported or official juvenile delinquency. However, it had a weak effect among adult whites for their self-reported crime and a large effect for both black and white adults for their total arrests and arrests for index crimes. Thus, job stability appears to affect age and racial groups differently.

On the issue of age, Shavit and Rattner (1988) suggest that unemployment has a larger effect on older age categories because one is normatively expected to be employed within these categories. Thornberry and Christianson, utilizing a sample aged 21 to 24, report that the effect of unemployment on criminal involvement becomes stronger at later ages. Yet Farrington et al.'s (1986) analysis revealed that while unemployment was associated with higher crime rates for respondents aged 15-18, the effect was stronger amongst the younger 15-16 age group.

The research examining the role of underemployment, job satisfaction, financial situations, and wages in the generation of crime has produced inconsistent results. Thornberry and Farnworth (1982) found that income was unrelated to several measures of crime and delinquency. Hartnagel and Krahn (1989) showed that personal financial status had a weak negative effect on their property crime index. Hartnagel (1990) discovered that the financial situation of his respondents had a significant small negative correlation with the general crime measure, but not the property crime measure. His measures of underemployment, job satisfaction, and average take-home pay showed no significant correlation with crime. After additional exploratory analysis, Hartnagel concluded that subjective labour market variables did not seem to specify the effect of unemployment on property crime. However, he is quick to point out that his sample was made up of high school graduates and can not be considered a particularly high risk group.

There are other variables that the research indicates influence whether one engages in criminal activity when under/unemployed. Hartnagel (1990) reports that the frequency of the respondents' friends' involement in crime was the strongest predictor of criminal behavior, although this was stronger for the general crime measure than the property crime index. Traditional social control variables were also related to less frequent crime, a finding similar to Samuelson (1988). Also significant for subjects who were frequent high school violators was his measure of the perceived certainty of punishment for lawbreaking. Those who perceived less likelihood of punishment engaged in more criminal behavior. Lastly, those respondents who spent more time in bars, had more unemployed friends and had lived away from home for a longer time reported more crime, although these correlations were relatively weak.

In an ethnographic study of youth spending time on the street in three New York neighbourhoods, Sullivan (1989) argues that high rates of youth crime are caused not just by the specific lack of employment opportunities for youths, but, even more fundamentally, by poor employment conditions throughout neighbourhoods which produce the stresses of poverty and weaken social control. In other words, youth unemployment in these communities makes economic crime more attractive, while adult un- and under employment contributes to a weakened social control environment. He notes that in these neighbourhoods crime preceeds work and overlaps occasionally with early irregular employment. However, as employment becomes more regular and steady, criminal involvement is moderated.

Sullivan also describes a pattern of criminal behavior that begins first with fighting and exploratory property crime before progressing to other offenses. Most of Sullivan's respondents reported both income motivated crimes and fighting. However, peak involvement in fighting generally preceded the peak involvement in economic crime and surrounded issues of status and territory. Those respondents who became involved in systematic economic crime generally did so after early involvement in group or individual confrontations with other adolescents. Fighting did not disappear but became more often individual confrontations taking place in bars and pool halls. Sullivan argues that these violent experiences provided the respondents with important skills that could be utilized in other criminal spheres. First, fighting provided respondents with the techniques of violence available for application in more systematic pursuits of income (robberies);

And second, fighting enabled the youths to confront the potential violent encounters that arose in other economically motivated crime including confrontations in drug dealings and interrupted burglaries. However, Sullivan argues that the role of violence in the types of economic crime the youths undertook and their ability to manage it were crucial factors in determining how long they were involved in systematic economic crime. The indiscriminate use of violence inevitably led to arrest or retaliation; the ability to employ it effectively without "upsetting business" required judgement that came with experience.

Sullivan argues that the exploratory crime undertaken by the respondents was motivated primarily by the search for excitement and desire to establish a reputation with peers. Any economic motivations were secondary at this early stage of involvement. However, after the first few experiences, the youth's motivations steadily evolved towards more clear cut economic incentives. As the youth aged, economic criminal behavior progressed from burglaries and other crimes of stealth to more violent crimes involving the direct use of force. These violent types of crimes became more prevalent as quick sources of money as the youths grew larger and stronger. By their late teen years the youth's regular involvement in predatory street crime decreased as the perceived risks began to outweigh the benefits as sanctions for such behavior became severe. If not immersed in the labour market, many youth moved into drug dealing after experiencing the limits of the other crimes as a regular sources of income. The drug business offered the possibility of advancement to a more sustained, lucrative and less exposed criminal role with age and experience. Sullivan believes that while more dangerous than legitimate employment, drug dealing offered these youth the potential of earning more than they possibly could through conventional work.

In sum, this sparse literature on individuals offers some evidence that unemployment does have some effect on crime, though its strength does not appear to be substantial with controls for prior criminality. There are also indications that this effect is conditional, varying with certain characteristics of the subjects, and their labour market integration. However, none of these studies examines the variety of labour market and economic status variables that may influence criminal behavior among the unemployed. This research literature has focused almost exclusively on objective information concerning the subjects' employment status and history, and personal characteristics, neglecting the possibly crucial role of subjective interpretations on reactions to labour market experiences and difficulties (Box, 1987; Box and Hale, 1985). It fails to examine how those experiencing unemployment give meaning to their experience. While Hartnagel (1990), Hartnagel and Krahn (1989), and Samuelson (1988) started to examine some of these types of relationships, their samples were not designed to focus in detail on the unemployed's criminal involvement. So although the few individual level studies of youth cannot be said to have demonstrated a strong link between unemployment and crime, further research which incorporates a variety of labour market variables, along with other factors, is certainly warranted.

HOMELESSNESS, UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

As discussed earlier, street youth are an extreme manifestation of increasing under/unemployment. Despite growing concern about street youth, relatively little is known about this high risk group. Furthermore, researchers have tended to adopt an overly restrictive definition of street youth. Most researchers have simply sought to describe homeless runaways. Yet there are indications that the street population contains large numbers of unemployed and underemployed youth (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; Radford et al., 1989; Smart et al., 1990). Thus, prior research is unable to shed light on a large portion of the street population.

Previous research on the homeless has suggested that adult homeless (Jahiel, 1987; Rossi, 1989a; 1989b; Snow et al., 1989; Wright, 1989) and homeless youth (Brennan et al., 1978; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987a; 1987b; McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992; Palenski, 1984; Radford et al., 1989; Rothman, 1991; Smart et al, 1990) have low rates of labour market participation and are responsible for a considerable amount of crime. Studies of youth who leave home indicate that a greater proportion of these youth (particularly those with extensive street careers) participate in criminal activities after leaving home, and they violate the law more frequently than do youth surveyed in school or home samples (Brennan et al. 1978; Hagan and McCarthy 1992). But a number of researchers have also alluded to the fact that many adolescents are involved in delinquent acts before, during, and after running away (Brennan, 1978; Nye, 1980). As Nye (1980) notes, while there is considerable delinquent behavior during runs, some of this presumably would have occurred had the youths stayed at home. Brennan et al. (1978) report that in the 12 months prior to their interviews (some of which presumably covers runaway episodes) runaways outscored nonrunaways by factors of three, four and in some instances five for almost all delinquency items. McCarthy and Hagan (1991) found that while a sizeable proportion of those surveyed participated in a number of illegal activities at home, a significantly greater proportion of adolescents participated in criminal activities after leaving home. The exceptions were indicators of the more common, less serious offenses (vandalism, sniffing glue, and taking parents' car). They suggest that these common if not minor forms of delinquency are substantively more likely to happen at home and/or be forgotten on the street because of their minor nature. They argue that increased participation in crime is most likely to be the result of the homeless experience, and not the direct effect of background variables.

A number of researchers argue that the need for money to support the run provides increased motivation for crime (Gulotta 1979; Nye, 1980). Palenski (1984) argues that illegal behavior usually is not preferred, but rather is adopted by runaways as a response to demands of being on the street. As McCarthy and Hagan note, it turns from innovation to avocation.

Despite this evidence few studies have explicitly attempted to link unemployment to crime during homeless episodes. Most have simply sought to explain running away. The literature on teenage runaways increasingly points to family breakdown, neglect, abuse, and parental rejection as causes for taking to the street. Similarly, the literature reveals runaways have greater problems in school, including conflict with school authorities (Brennan et al., 1978; Gulotta, 1979; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987a; 1987b; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992; Palenski, 1984; Rothman, 1991). Thus, it is unclear exactly what aspects of homelessness or other predetermining factors account for crime and delinquency among homeless youth and adults (Hagan and McCarthy, 1992). Hagan and McCarthy suggest that at a minimum, the relationship between homelessness and crime and delinquency is poorly specified.

In a study explicitly examining the relationship between adult homelessness and crime, Snow et al. (1989) discovered that substance related offenses constituted 50 percent of all homeless arrests, primarily for public intoxication. Of the four index offenses representing the greatest threat to life or personal safety (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) homeless arrest rates were either statistically no different, or lower, than those of the general male population. A different picture emerged when they considered the property related offenses of burglary, theft, and autotheft. The arrest rates for the homeless were significantly higher in all three cases than for the general male population. In the case of burglary, the plurality of arrests was for breaking into warehouses and abandoned and unused buildings, primarily for the purpose of securing a place to sleep or escaping the elements. And in the case of theft, nearly 50% of all arrests were for shoplifting, mostly for cigarettes, food and drink, and occasionally calculators and other items that were sold on the street or in pawn shops. Most were relatively petty. The authors conclude that criminality is related to the absence or inaccessibility of alternative survival strategies. Given a context in which individuals had few personal resources and only a narrow band of survival options or niches at their disposal, certain criminal activities became salient behavioral strategies.

While their measure of crime (arrest rates) is somewhat limited (see discussion on aggregate level data) and cannot be linked to individuals, their data suggest that lack of access to the labour market is directly responsible for criminal behavior amongst the adult homeless.

Hagan and McCarthy (1992), in an examination of street youth in Toronto, argue that the street is an intervening variable linking traditional criminological variables drawn from strain and control theories, and crime. Their findings indicate that youths from "surplus population families" are more likely to be on the street. Contextualizing this finding, the authors note that these types of families are more likely to be broken, are more likely to use coercion and have less control over their children. Youth from intact families are, in part, less likely to be on the street because they experience less coercive and more instrumental control. Boys are more likely than girls to be on the street because they experience more coercive and less instrumental control in their families. In turn, youths from these types of families have lower school goals and increased conflict with teachers, all of which increases the probability of taking to the street. (Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992). The school variables reduce the effects of maternal and paternal instrumental control, indicating that parental instrumental control exerts much of its effect by increasing commitment to school and reducing conflict with teachers.

Most importantly, being on the street increases serious delinquency (as measured by serious theft). Hagan and McCarthy found that high risk youth, (as determined by the strain and control measures) were highly likely to participate in theft regardless if they were in school or on the street. However, in terms of frequency, high risk youth engaged in a greater number of serious thefts if they are on the street. Further, low risk youth on the street were much more likely to engage in these acts than their school counterparts, and engage in them more frequently. They conclude that compositional differences between school and street youth are a reflection of factors and experiences that lead to being on the street, while street experiences in turn further contribute to involvement in serious theft. On the street, theft activity often moves from the level of innovation to avocation. The authors admit they did not attempt to show exactly what specific aspects of life on the street caused delinquency and suggest that researchers would do well to explore further the conditions and experiences of youth who take to the street.

In a second paper from the same data, McCarthy and Hagan (1992) examine the effects of unemployment, hunger, a lack of shelter and a number of background variables on theft of food, serious theft, and prostitution. The central results indicated that controlling for the wide range of background/developmental and control variables, hunger alone had a substantial and statistically significant effect on theft of food. Hunger and type of shelter were significantly related to serious theft. Unemployment and shelter had sizeable direct and significant effects on prostitution. More generally, the situational variables exercised strong direct effects on street crime, apart from the mediating role they also played. These effects varied somewhat by type of crime and gender, but overall, the situational variables played a prominent role in the causation of street crime. However, McCarthy and Hagan also argue that the processes, dimensions, experiences and conditions of those who spend time on the street need further exploration.

A third paper utilizing this data set (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991) explores the relationship between crime and the number of homeless experiences and the length of the current homeless episode. The data generally demonstrate that the effects of homelessness are not specific to a particular gender or age group. The effect of the number of previous homeless episodes was unclear. However, the effect of the length of time since leaving home reveals that for young people whose current period of homelessness is more than a year, there are significant increases in all measured delinquent activities. The authors conclude that changes in participation in crime appear to be precipitated by becoming a member of a criminogenic situation. They suggest that it is not homelessness itself which causes crime; rather it is certain conditions which characterize homelessness. They note that the homeless are extremely poor: usually under-employed, and frequently unemployed; receive a minimal amount of social assistance, and often lack fundamental social and familial support. They suggest that it is imperative that we investigate how these conditions affect crime to discover why criminal participation escalates after a certain period of time on the street.

Finally, in one of the only studies that subsumes a broader definition of street youth, Inciardi et al. (1993) link their results to a social control perspective and the importance of ties to conventional life. Family, school and job experience variables were more strongly related to early and current drug/crime involvement than were the sociodemographic variables of age, gender, and race/ethnicity. The authors believe that their findings suggest an interactive as opposed to one-way relationship. That is, youths with missing ties- those who were not living with a family, who were school dropouts, and who had no work experience- were also those who were youngest at the initiation of deviant activities. They argue that this typical preadolescent deviance most likely contributed to weaker ties to conventional institutions during early and middle adolescence. That is, they experienced more family conflict, more school problems, and less interest in or chance of getting a legal job. The authors speculate that by age 16-17 these weakened ties probably helped account for greater commitment to drug use, crime, and their accompanying street values (Inciardi et al., 1993:124-125).

Focusing on employment, Inciardi et al. note that legal work experience appears to demonstrate less commitment to the streets and more potential for eventually taking up a conventional adult lifestyle. They report clear age differences between first legal work experience and first drug/crime behaviors. Initial drug and crime experience occurred very early in the lives of serious delinquents interviewed, typically at age 10-12, whereas work experience was common only by age 16. Thus, among youths age 16-17, legal work experience is least common among those with the longest histories of drug/crime involvement and the strongest participation in heavy drug use, the most serious crime (major felonies), or career street crime (especially drug sales and prostitution).

Inciardi et al. also found that family disadvantage (being from a "surplus" family) bears less relationship to current crime among serious delinquents than does living with a family versus alone, dropping out of school, or having work experience in a legal job. In short, in this sample of serious delinquents, youth from more economically disadvantaged families were only a little more seriously involved in drugs/crime than less disadvantaged youth.

They also discovered that the greater a youth's involvement in the drug business, the more likely was the daily or at least regular use of drugs. Further, the greater the drug business involvement, the more money spent buying drugs for personal use. They also discovered that the youth most likely to become deeply involved in the drug trade were those with the earliest and most serious general crime histories. Current crime revealed a similar pattern, the greater the drug business participation, the greater the level of other crime commission. They speculate that the criminogenic effect of the drug trade stems from the interactive pattern typical of the crime/drug relationship amongst serious offenders who use drugs: crime finances use; use encourages more use; "more use encourages more profit-making crimes of all sorts to support an ever-growing addictive use pattern " (Inciardi et al., 1993: 111; see also Austin and Lettierri, 1976; Gandossy et al., 1980; Inciardi, 1992, McBride and McCoy, 1982; Weissman, 1978). Thus, the authors believe that drug and alcohol use may be a critical factor in the move from trivial to serious crime.

Further, there are indications that crime and drug use are intertwined "definitional characteristics" of a street lifestyle and perhaps subculture (Inciardi et al., 1993). Contacts become increasingly limited to other street people, values become altered to fit behaviors; and crime becomes accepted as not just a means of obtaining drugs but as part of a way of life. Within this way of life, crime is more than simply a means of getting drugs; its success affects usage. Good criminals can afford more drugs. Those less effective have less to spend, while drug use affects crime directly by making risky and otherwise difficult offenses psychologically easier (Inciardi et al., 1993; see also Goldstein, 1985; Inciardi and Russe, 1977). The role of "being under the influence" of a substance while committing a crime would be expected among street people since they are strongly involved in both crime and drugs. Further, drug use may create a feeling of omnipotence which in tandem with the sheer youth of the participants distorts perceptions of danger (violence, arrest, overdose, death) so that it is viewed with enthusiasm.

In sum, the research on homelessness documents high unemployment and crime but, outside of the attempts by McCarthy and Hagan (1992) and Inciardi et al. (1993), fails to specify the links between the two. There are indications of high rates of criminality preceding runaway and homeless episodes but it is unclear whether it is the lack of shelter and employment, or other predetermining factors, that account for the criminality. In addition, like the aggregate research and research on individuals reviewed above, this work has focused almost exclusively on objective information concerning subjects' employment status and history, and personal characteristics, neglecting the possibly crucial role of subjective interpretations and reactions to labour market experiences and difficulties (Box, 1987; Box and Hale, 1985; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992).

Box (1987) notes that properly targeted research which considers both the meaning and duration of employment, as well as measuring crime through self-reported techniques, and relating this to those periods after being made unemployed has yet to done, and is the only way of settling the unemployment-crime debate. It would seem that properly targeted research on a high risk population would be a step in the proper direction.

LITERATURE SUMMARY

It is necessary to sum up all the above results to construct a guide for the research. First, it seems crucial to control for background factors that others have determined increase the likelihood that an unemployed person will engage in crime. These appear to be class background, family structure, familial employment histories, parent-child relationships in terms of instrumental, relational and coercive control, school performance and behavior (Farrington et al., 1986; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; Inciardi et al., 1993; McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; McCarthy and Hagan 1992; Sullivan, 1989; Thornberry and Christenson, 1984). It also appears that age affects the relationship between unemployment and crime in different ways (Farrington et al., 1986; Shavit and Rattner, 1988; Sullivan, 1989; Thornberry and Christianson, 1984; Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982). Other background factors that loom important include prior criminality (Bachman et al., 1978; Hartnagel, 1990; Thornberry and Christianson, 1984) and living circumstances (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991).

The literature has also uncovered a number of labour market variables that have the potential to explain the relationship between unemployment and crime. Any analysis must take into account employment stability and the length of unemployment. (Hartnagel, 1990; Hartnagel and Krahn, 1989; Samuelson, 1988, Sampson and Laub, 1990; Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982). Here the number of jobs an individual has held, the number of months the individual has been unemployed, and the time out of the labour market are all important avenues to explore. Further, it also appears vital to take into account the role of present employment and financial situations (Hartnagel, 1990; Hartnagel and Krahn, 1989; Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982; Sullivan, 1989).

The literature also points to the importance of street variables, including friends' participation in crime and other subcultural influences that might mediate the unemployment-crime relationship (Hartnagel, 1990; Inciardi et al. 1993). There is also the need to examine the length of homeless episodes and other street involvement measures (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991). Further, the role of drug and alcohol use in the motivation and undertaking of crime while on the street may provide additional insights (Inciardi et al. 1993).

Finally, it is essential to include the factors that have been neglected in past research. In particular, how people interpret their unemployment must be scrutinized. That is how they give meaning to their experience. In particular, what types of causal attributions do these youth make in explaining their unemployment (Feather, 1990)? Do they blame themselves or do they blame the system for their failure to find employment (Box, 1987; Feather, 1990; Hartnagel, 1990)? Further what are their affective reactions to their unemployment (Feather, 1990) and how do these influence their criminal behavior? These four different aspects of homelessness and unemployment must be linked in an attempt to more fully understand their role in the genesis of street crime.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

BACKGROUND FACTORS

Given the empirical and theoretical concerns just outlined, a number of specific research questions and hypotheses can be specified. Beginning with background factors:

1) **To what extent do street youth's home, school and criminal backgrounds influence their criminal behavior?**

Commencing with family control factors, it seems reasonable to expect that it is those youth who experience the least amount of instrumental and relational control, and the greatest amounts of coercive control that end up spending time on the street and participating in criminal behavior (Farrington et al. 1986; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992.; Inciardi et al., 1993; McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992; Sullivan, 1989; Thornberry and Christenson, 1984). Their homelife permits, or forces, them into the street environment. The absence of parental supervision means their travels and behaviors are unmonitored, leaving them free to roam the streets and engage in illegal behaviors. The lack of parental attachment suggests a void in terms of the youths' sensitivity to parental expectations, leaving them free to deviate.

The coercive control contributes to both the lack of attachment and the dearth of supervision since it does little to foster the former, and is conducive to avoidance, making the latter more difficult. It may also have independent effects of its own leading to an alienation from conventional bonding and criminal behavior. This said it can be expected that:

1 A) Those youth who have experienced less instrumental and relational control are more likely to be involved in criminal behavior.

1 B) Those youth who have experienced more coercive control are more likely to be involved in criminal behavior.

We might speculate that youths from lower social status backgrounds are more at risk for criminal behavior (Farrington et al., 1986; Sullivan, 1989; Thornberry and Chirstenson, 1984) However, it can also be argued that it is the absence or presence of the social controls within these families, not their class location per se, that influences delinquency (Inciardi et al., 1993; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992)

Similarly, we might venture to reason that youths from families that are reconstituted, or headed by single parents, are more at risk for criminal behavior. However, like social status, it can be asserted that these types of families are more inclined to suffer from problems of instrumental and relational control. This said, the role of class and family structure in the generation of delinquency is undetermined.

Regardless of the class location and family structure it is expected that family employment histories will have some influence on the respondents' behavior (Sullivan, 1989). Youths whose parents have histories of unemployment experience vicariously the harsh realities of the labour market, which in turn serves to lessen their commitment to employment and leaves them more at risk for criminal behavior.

1 C) The role of social status background is unclear.

1 D) The role of family structure is also unclear.

1 E) Youths whose parents have histories of unemployment are more at risk for criminal behavior.

Dysfunctions within the family as characterized by an absence of relational and instrumental control and the presence of serial coercive control (continuous abuse over a period of time) contributes to disabilities that make failure in school more probable. Lacking counsel and supervision the youths fail to develop the commitment and skills necessary to become successful within the educational environment. The poor work habits, truancy, and conflict with officials demonstrate an absence of an initial investment in conventional society. This lack of commitment might be linked to spending time on the street and engaging in criminal behavior. Saying this, it can also be expected that those youth who lack credentials will have more difficulties obtaining employment. Thus, those whose educational qualifications fail to meet even minimum requirements are more at risk for unemployment and, in turn, criminal behavior.

1 F) The less education completed and the less school commitment displayed while attending school, the greater the likelihood of criminal behavior.

The lack of instrumental and relational control, the surplus of coercive control, and the lack of commitment and attachment to school may all lead to early delinquent behavior (Hirschi, 1969). In turn, this delinquent behavior provides an anchor for the commission of further criminal acts (Bachman et al., 1978; Hartnagel, 1990; Thornberry and Christianson, 1984). This early criminal behavior may further detach respondents from conventional society and inhibit them from reentering. Isolated from conventional controls they are free to continue their criminal behavior. It can be argued that those who have criminal histories have a resource of vital experience that enables them to survive on the street through alternative means. This may be an advantage over others who come to the street without experience. Thus, those who already have extensive criminal participation are more likely to continue to access these means once on the street when more conventional alternatives are unavailable.

1 G) The more extensive the youths' criminal involvement while living at home, the greater the risk of current criminal behavior.

Further, current living circumstances may influence the turn to illegal means for survival (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991).

Those currently living at home will be less desperate in their needs for survival, thus moderating their criminal behavior. However, the further one moves from the parental home the likelihood of criminal behavior increase (Inciardi et al., 1993). First, there is isolation from parental social control mechanisms. Second, there is separation from parental economic safety nets at a time when self sufficiency is fragile. Thus, it can be expected that those youths living on their own are more at risk for criminal behavior than those living with their parents. In addition, it is anticipated that those who are currently living on the street would be more likely to engage in criminal behavior to satisfy their needs for existence in severe circumstances.

1 H) Youth who are not currently living at home are more at risk for criminal behavior. This risk increases as the severity of current living circumstances increases.

Finally, it might be presumed that behavior is affected by age, although the direction may be for debate. It may be younger respondents who are more likely to engage in crime on the street (Farrington et al., 1986; Thornberry and Christianson, 1984). Lacking access to steady, well paying employment, they may engage in crime to satisfy their economic needs (Sullivan, 1989). Alternatively, there is some evidence that unemployment affects older respondents (Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982; Shavit and Rattner, 1988). As one ages the social expectations for employment also increase, leading to greater pressures towards criminal behavior when unemployed. However, it might be the case, as Sullivan (1989) discovered, that age affects offense type. Thus, the young may be more likely to prosper through the more risky property and violent offenses while older respondents may turn to more profitable and less risky pursuits including dealing drugs to survive.

1 I) It is anticipated that younger youths are more involved in property and violent offenses while older youths are ensnared in narcotic offenses.

LABOUR MARKET FACTORS

Together, the first research question and its nine hypotheses provide 11 potentially important background variables which might influence respondents' criminal behavior during unemployment. However, they offer only the beginning of what is necessary. It is also vital to examine labour market variables and the role they play in the criminal behavior of street youth. This leads to the second research question:

2) To what extent is unemployment and poor labour market integration associated to street youths' involvement in

crime?

First, control theory predicts that youth without employment have few "stakes in conformity" that can be jeopardized by criminal conduct (Box, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Hirschi, 1969). Second, scholars speculate that joblessness negates the relevance of work, and weakens the belief that law breaking is wrong (Box, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Hirschi, 1969). Thus:

2 A) Those currently without a job are more at risk for criminal behavior than those who presently hold employment.

Saying this, the greater the period of joblessness the greater the chances of this estrangement taking place and alternatives sought. However, some of this period may be defined as unemployment where the youths are out of work but continue looking for work. The fact that they continue to strive and search for employment suggests a bond to the labour market in spite of joblessness (Hartnagel, 1990). Thus, it can be expected that those who maintain, and act out, their aspirations during periods of employment difficulties will be less at risk for criminal behavior.

2 B) The longer the period of unemployment (out of work but looking for work) the less risk of criminal behavior.

However, over time it can be expected that some youth move from unemployment to discouragement. The youth become disenchanted by their labour market difficulties and cease their search for employment during periods of joblessness. The labour market loses its control over these youths making them candidates for criminal behavior (Box, 1987). It may be the case that some youth were never attached to the labour market and experience only discouragement, never searching for employment during periods of joblessness. In either case, the longer the length of discouragement, the less stake in conformity, and the less sway the labour market has in inhibiting criminal behavior.

2 C) The longer the period of discouragement (out of work but not looking for work) the greater the risk of criminal behavior.

It is also expected that the youths' employment histories will have an effect on their behavior (Sampson and Laub, 1990). A large number of jobs indicates an unstable history where the youth moves from work situation to work situation. It is suspected that these experiences create dissatisfaction with, and estrangement from, the labour market, leaving these youth more at risk for crime.

2 D) The greater the number of jobs the person has held in his lifetime the greater the risk for criminal behavior.

Finally, unemployment creates financial hardship for those who experience it. At the same time it must be recognized that state support can mediate some of these financial difficulties (Allan and Steffensmeirer, 1989; DeFronzo, 1983; Horowitz, 1984; Cantor and Land, 1985). Nevertheless, the absolute amount of legal financial resources available may account for motivations to crime amongst the unemployed. The criminal behavior may be a rational choice to alleviate the hardship. Further, it is speculated that those who hold employment where wages are insufficient, may still be at risk for crime (Long and Witte, 1981; Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982). Their dissatisfaction may contribute to a sense of injustice which may lessen their attachment to the labour market and the belief that criminal behavior is wrong, and increase the perception that the material rewards of criminal behavior are an attractive alternative to poorly paid employment.

2 E) The less legal income available the greater the risk for criminal behavior.

STREET FACTORS

These five labour market variables may provide valuable insight into the youths' criminal behavior. At the same time, an examination is required of the street experiences of street youth and how these impact on their criminal behavior. This gives rise to the third research question:

3) To what extent do street factors in terms of peers, street involvement, substance abuse and length of street participation relate to crime?

Those youth who live or spent time on the street inevitably come into contact with others who are also spending time and living on the street. Subcultural theorists (Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960) suggest that youths experiencing similar problems of adjustment in school or the labour market may seek out, or form groups with others with similar difficulties. These youth proceed to develop norms of behavior that allow the youths to gain status and financial rewards through delinquency. The jobless, homeless youth on the street who have contact with like others who support their delinquency are more at risk for criminal behavior.

3 A) The greater the peer support for criminal behavior, the greater the risk of criminal activities.

These other criminally inclined youth on the street also provide partners with whom to undertake crime (Farrington et al, 1986; Hirschi, 1969; Kornhauser, 1978). They make certain activities less difficult. They may help to locate prime targets, assist the undertaking of certain offenses, and distribute the goods once acquired.

3 B) The greater the availability and willingness of peers to participate in criminal activities, the greater the criminal behavior.

The street youth may also become caught up in the lifestyle and culture of the street (Crutchfield, 1989; Inciardi et al., 1993). This may include the use and abuse of drugs and alcohol. There are indications that this lifestyle contributes to criminal behavior by introducing a cycle where illegal sources are required to fund substance use, which in turn leads to increased abuse, introducing the need for even more criminal behavior to fund the growing addictions, eventually leading to the point where criminal behavior becomes part of a lifestyle. Those getting caught up in the lifestyle further estrange and isolate themselves from conventional society, decreasing their attachment to conventional others, commitment to conventional pursuits, and their beliefs that criminal behavior is wrong. These are all replaced by nonconventional attachments, commitments and beliefs.

3 C) The greater the need to fund substance abuse, the greater the risk of crime.

Part and parcel of this lifestyle is that the use of these substances facilitates criminal behavior by making it psychologically easier to complete (Inciardi et al., 1993). It reduces fear and provides a confidence of invincibility that enables participants to carry out their crimes.

3 D) The greater the drug and/or alcohol use, the greater the risk of criminal behavior.

Finally, the longer the youth has been involved in this lifestyle the greater the risk of criminal behavior (McCarthy and Hagan, 1991; Inciardi et al., 1993). The longer one has lived on the street, the more opportunity there is to come into contact with other street youths to form the delinquent subcultures, and to enlist partners in crime. Further, the greater the length of time living on the street, the more likely one is to become entrenched in the street lifestyle leading to drug and alcohol abuse. This in turn leads to criminal activities under the influence of these substances in order to acquire more intoxicants to feed growing addictions. All the while the youth becomes further entrenched in a lifestyle that supports criminal pursuits and delegitimizes conventional pursuits. The street also provides ample opportunity for offending. It provides attractive targets available for victimization by motivated offenders. Thus, the sheer amount of time spent on the street increases the opportunities available for criminal pursuits.

3 E) The longer the period spent living on the street the greater the involvement in street culture and the larger the number of illegal opportunities and therefore a greater risk of criminal behavior.

EMOTIONAL AND ATTRIBUTIONAL FACTORS

These street factors provide five extremely potentially productive routes to explaining criminal behavior within this group. The only missing components left to explore are the attributional and affective reactions to unemployment which might influence youths in their criminal behavior. Thus, the final research question:

4) To what extent do street youths' interpretations of and affective reactions to their labour market problems influence their criminal involvement?

According to strain and subcultural theorists, the key to criminal behavior may be the attributional location of the explanation for unemployment. They suggest that those who attribute their unemployment to internal causes, such as a lack of effort, or lack of skills, are less at risk for crime (Box, 1987; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Hartnagel, 1990; Merton, 1955). By blaming themselves, they have individualized their failure and are therefore less likely to feel a sense of frustration due to their occupational deprivation. On the other hand, those who attribute their unemployment to external causes such as the economy or the unfair or unjust exclusion from avenues of success, may engage in crime out of resistance or protest.

4 A) Youths who attribute their unemployment to internal sources such as the lack of skills, motivation, or appearance, are less at risk for crime.

4 B) Youths who attribute the cause of their unemployment to external causes such as the economy or an unfair opportunity structure are at greater risk for criminal behavior.

There is also speculation that certain affective reactions may be related to criminal behavior. From a control perspective it is those youth who lack affective reactions that are more likely to become involved in crime (Box, 1987; Hirschi, 1969). Youth who lack commitment to, and belief in, the conventional system will be unbothered by their lack of employment. The absence of affective reaction indicates deficient bonding leading to a freedom to undertake criminal behavior.

For strain theorists there is a slightly different interpretation. Consistent with the control explanation, it is expected that youth who express guilt, helplessness and depression over their unemployment are unlikely candidates for criminal behavior. Instead it is speculated that they withdraw or retreat from participation in the economic system and drift into drug and alcohol use.

However, in opposition to the control stance, strain theorists believe that those who respond with anger are more likely to utilize criminal behavior as an expression of their discontent (Box, 1987; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Feather, 1990; Hartnagel, 1990; Merton, 1955). Therefore, the link between anger and unemployment and its role in the generation of criminal behavior is for empirical testing.

4 C) Those who express negative affective reactions to their unemployment such as guilt, helplessness and depression are less likely to commit crime. Those who do not express these, or do so to a lesser extent are at a greater risk for crime.

4 D) The role of anger is to be determined.

Finally, strain theorists (Box, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Stack, 1984) argue that it may be the perception of financial standing rather than objective financial worth that leads to criminal behavior. In particular, those who feel a greater degree of deprivation may experience more frustration and respond to their situation with criminal behavior. Alternatively, actors may calculate that they have insufficient funds and determine that resources can be secured more profitably through illegal as opposed to conventional pursuits. These actors may make rational choices to pursue illegal activities.

4 E) Those youth who perceive that they do not have sufficient economic resources are more at risk for criminal behavior.

Together, these four broad research questions have synthesized the theoretical and empirical literature and allowed for the identification of a number of variables that need to be explored in the attempt to help explain the relationship between labour market difficulties and crime amongst street youth. There are 11 background variables that need to be explored. Labour market factors contribute five variables, street factors five variables, and attribution and affective factors contribute ten variables. Table 3.1 provides us with a visual summary of these variables. It is time now to focus on how these variables were operationalized and the techniques utilized to gather the data to test the research questions and hypotheses.

TABLE 3.1 VARIABLE LIST

BACKGROUND	LABOUR MARKET	STREET	INTERPRETIVE
AGE	CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS	LENGTH OF TIME ON THE STREET	COMPETENCE
CLASS	MONTHS UNEMPLOYED	PEER PRESSURE	INTERVIEW/ APPEARANCE
FAMILY STRUCTURE	MONTHS DISCOURAGED	PEER INVOLVEMENT	MOTIVATION
INSTRUMENTAL CONTROL	LEGAL INCOME	DRUG INVOLVEMENT	RECESSION
RELATIONAL CONTROL	NUMBER OF PREVIOUS JOBS	CRIME UNDER DRUGS	GUILT
COERCIVE CONTROL			ANGER
PARENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT			HELPLESSNESS
EDUCATION			DEPRESSION
SCHOOL EXPERIENCE			STRAIN
PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY			FINANCE
CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES			

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS

SAMPLE CHOICE

A problem that plagues researchers studying street youth is setting an "appropriate" definition or set of criteria for selection into a study. In general, social scientists specify a target population and then select a sample from this population. In most of this research, the target population is known in advance and complete and exhaustive lists of those within the population can be prepared. Appropriate samples are then drawn to reflect the target population's parameters. However, the street youth population is not amenable to these types of standard social science research practices. The fluid and mobile nature of the population makes estimations of composition and size a difficult if not impossible task.

Street youth as a term has rarely been well defined, but usually refers to youth who have run away or been expelled from their homes and/or who spend some or all of their time in various public locations. Past research suggests a heterogeneity in street lifestyle and street youth as a group. The street population is made up of both youth who "hang out" on the street on a regular and permanent basis, and youth whose streetlife participation is more sporadic. It contains those who attend school and those who have dropped out. Some live at home, others on their own, and others on the street. Some work full-time or part-time, others rely on state assistance, social agencies, or crime to support themselves. Some of these youth are pre-teens, others are in their mid-twenties. Thus, street involvement can be characterized as a continuum rather than a categorical entity.

While it is important to recognize this heterogeneity, one must at the same time employ some sort of criterion for inclusion into the study that is appropriate to the research questions. Thus, while there should be an attempt to capture the broad spectrum of the population, there must also be the realization that part of this population does not fit into the investigation. The decisions on who is in the study and why need to be detailed.

It is estimated that two thirds of the street youth population consists of males; the other one third females (Janus et al., 1987; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987; McCarthy and Hagan, 1992). This female population created a number of ethical dilemas in designing the research. In research of this nature a number of the questions necessarily tap into delicate areas of the respondents' lives. For example, areas of the interview required details concerning physical and sexual victimization in childhood histories. It also included questions concerning various types of victimization outside of the home, as well as probed-for participation in illegal activities including prostitution. Since the character of these questions is sensitive, the fact that the primary researcher was male, would likely make them even more so for female respondents. The question on how to solve the problem began.

One potential solution was to eliminate these questions. However, past research suggested that these types of variables were particularly important in explaining the backgrounds and behaviors of both male and female street youth. Concluding it improper for a male researcher to ask female respondents questions of this nature, and deciding these questions could not be eliminated, the sample was restricted to males only. Thus, the first criterion for inclusion into the study was that participants must be male.

The street population contains both the old and the young. The focus of the investigation on youth unemployment and crime dictated that the old be eliminated from sample consideration. However, the definition of young remained to be decided. Scholars studying street youth have utilized a number of cutoff points. Some research has restricted its sample to those under eighteen years of age to correspond with the legal definition of a young offender. Others have chosen their sample to correspond to definitions used by agencies servicing street youth and extend their sample cut off to age twenty four. Surveying the literature, Caputo and Ryan argue that the heterogeneity of those described as street youth is covered by the age range of 12 to 24 (Caputo and Ryan, 1991: 8-10). The concern for the role of age in crime and unemployment suggested the need for a full range of ages. It was decided that twenty four would serve as the cut off point for respondents. Thus, the second criterion for participation in the investigation was that respondents be aged 24 years or younger.

One of the most important questions of the study concerned unemployment. There are indications that both employed and unemployed youth spend time on the street. This was not a problem. However, there was also evidence of a large subpopulation of school youth spending their time on the street. Since their school attendance eliminated them as candidates for full participation in the labour market, they were eliminated from sample consideration. The third criteria for inclusion, then, was that the participants could not be attending school.

Evidence also pointed to a great deal of sporadic participation on the street. That is, many of the youth who spend time on the street do so only on the weekends or one or two days during the week. Striving for a more "serious" type of sample, and avoiding the "weekend warriors", only those youth who spent at least three hours a day, three days a week were eligible for inclusion in the study. Although this criteria left the door open for the inclusion of respondents who were employed, lived at home, and spent considerable time on the street, there were, as we shall discover, few respondents of this type.

To review, the criteria for participation in the study were as follows:

1. **participants must be male;**
2. **they must be age twenty four or under;**
3. **they must have left or finished school;**
4. **they must spend at least three hours a day, three days a week "hanging around" on the street or in a mall.**

The sampling criteria eliminated a number of different groups within the street population including females, the older members of the population, the sporadic participants and the students. Yet expectations were that a great deal of heterogeneity still existed within the targeted population. To take full advantage of this heterogeneity a deliberately large sample was drawn on the logic that the closer the sample came to matching the actual population, the more likely its variability would be captured. To ensure the capture of the range of street youth in the City of Edmonton, 200 male street youths were identified based on the four sampling criteria.

DATA COLLECTION

Sample selection began with the researcher situating himself in geographical areas known to be frequented by street youth. Street research has a distinguished history in sociology (Leibow, 1967; Shaw, 1930; Thrasher, 1927; Whyte, 1943; Thrasher, 1927) but experienced a dormant period from the late sixties until quite recently. The reemergence of the sociologist on the street as seen in the work of Inciardi (1993) and Sullivan (1989) among others can be interpreted as a positive development. For it is on the street where the information lies. As Chambliss (1975) notes "the data are there; the problem is that too often the sociologist is not (Chambliss, 1975:39).

The appearance adopted for the field by the researcher - long hair, a black leather jacket lined with a lumberjack jacket, Doc Marten boots, black jeans, T-shirts- served as an attempt to secure respondents' trust and entry into their network.

Potential respondents were approached cold contact and asked if they "would mind answering a few questions." Those who responded affirmatively were then screened by asking the four sampling criteria. Those who failed to meet any of the four criteria were thanked for their participation and dismissed. Many of the ineligible's curiosity was peaked and several requested an explanation for the questions. The researcher obliged and provided a brief summary of the study in the hope that these unsuccessful contacts would bear fruition in the form of friends or acquaintances who met the criteria. Following the explanation the researcher invited the ineligible youth to "spread the word" to their suitable friends.

Those youth who met the criteria in the screening process were then asked if they were interested in participating in a longer interview. During this process potential respondents were provided with a brief verbal summary of the goals of the research, and informed of the interview length. They were also apprised that their participation would be rewarded with ten dollars in coupons redeemable at a popular fast food restaurant. Those who declined participation were thanked for their time and dismissed. The youth who declined because of time constraints, ("I'm selling right now"; "I have to pick up my welfare cheque"; "I have to pick up some drugs"; "I have to meet someone") were informed that the researcher would be spending considerable time in the area and would be available at their convenience. Those who declined for other reasons were also informed of the length of research and informed that if they changed their minds the researcher would be happy to interview them.

This approach was successful with both types of decliners. Frequently in the area, the researcher inevitably again ran into most of the people who had previously refused. Many times these youth approached the researcher either informing him that they were now available, or inquiring if he was still doing the interviews. Others the researcher jokingly greeted by admitting he was still around, his greeting almost always met with a cheerful willingness to participate. A few of the decliners eased their suspicions by waiting until their friends had involved themselves in an interview before agreeing to take part. Some of the youths remained nonparticipants until situations evolved where they lacked food and/or money. At this point they desired an interview to obtain the food coupons.

The development of a rapport with the youth through the interviews and the considerable time spent in the areas frequented by the street youth served to create an atmosphere conducive to respondent-assisted snowball sampling and a reputation in the area. The researcher began and ended each day by returning to the locations where he had come into contact with previous respondents. This allowed him to follow up on the youths' situations and observe and gather more information on their behaviors which was recorded in field notes at the end of each day. This process also filled periods of down time where there were no new people to be approached or found.

Youths who had completed interviews often brought their friends to be interviewed at some later point. Some of this was for the benefit of the interviewer, some of it for less altruistic purposes: food coupons. Many respondents brought their friends, who if they were eligible and interviewed, were required to "kick back" some coupons to the locater. Others seemed indebted to the researcher, constantly inquiring about his interview total, and his daily success. A slow day meant the respondents would actively point out or recruit others. An integral part of this process was a ceremony to establish potential subject's eligibility. Some of the respondents would arouse the researcher with comments in the vein of "this guy (he) don't go to school" or " he squats with those guys." Others would prod the prospective respondents with "you don't go to school do you, do an interview with this guy." Both methods snared a number of new youth for the researcher to interview.

The respondents also "spread the word" about the study and the researcher in other environments. Many times the researcher was identified, approached and solicited with "you're that guy doing those interviews, I'm a street kid." The researcher was game wherever he travelled including the street, the mall, inside street services, on public transit (both the train and the bus), and in the washroom. A few youths mistook the researcher for a street kid, witnessing his interaction with others, and later approached him with tales of the previous night's activities before being solicited for an interview.

Those who agreed, or eventually agreed, to an interview were presented with an informed consent form prepared by the researcher to ensure that the respondent understood the goals of the study and to emphasize that he was in no way at risk for participating in the interview. The consent form also detailed the rights of both the interviewer and the interviewee. The respondent was made aware that he had the right to refuse to answer any questions during the interview and could withdraw from the interview at anytime. It was also impressed that the researcher could terminate the interview at his discretion. This was not a problem throughout the research. There was only one respondent who refused to answer a significant number of questions and only one who tempted the researcher to terminate the interview because of his insistence to grab the questionnaire and write longhand responses to explain his forced choice responses. Five respondents left prior to the end of the interview: One to pick up drugs, two to pick up welfare checks, one to elude police, and one to meet friends. All five completed their interviews at a later date. Other interviews were interrupted for shorter periods while respondents conducted business, either to sell drugs, take down numbers off of pagers, or to use the phone to placate those who had paged.

The respondent was asked to read the consent form and initialize or make some mark to signal an understanding of the forthcoming process. All respondents were queried of their reading ability and offered assistance from the interviewer. Those who could not read were read the form and then requested to make a mark. The researcher suspects that a number of the respondents had unadmitted reading problems. Many of them went through the form either far too quickly or at an excruciatingly slow pace. Those worried about identification tended to mark their forms with an X. Others in demonstrations of bravado promptly signed their full names in colourful styles. These were immediately erased by the researcher to protect their anonymity.

The interviews averaged approximately 70 minutes in length. Most subjects did not appear to be bothered by the length of the interview. Several commented that the process did not seem to take as long as it had. Within the interview respondents were asked both forced choice and open ended questions. The latter offered them the opportunity to express their feelings on certain areas or expand on responses they had given on forced choice items. These open ended responses were transcribed verbatim by the researcher onto the interview schedule. The respondents appeared to appreciate that their exact words were being used. There was a sense of control in witnessing their responses in hard copy. Most scrutinized the transcription process intently, and made special efforts to ensure the interviewer got down what was needed to be said.

At the conclusion of the interview respondents were given a list of items to review and were then asked to select and rank the three most important reasons for their drug and alcohol use. Again those with reading difficulties were offered assistance. As it turned out, this procedure as a whole created difficulties for a number of other respondents as well. They were unable to comprehend the conceptualization of ranking. Only after patient demonstration and reiteration did they successfully complete the process. This experience left the researcher with the impression that the utilization of self report questionnaires with this type of sample would be extremely problematic.

After completion, respondents were presented with the ten dollars in coupons redeemable at the popular fast food restaurant. The interview schedules and consent forms were then placed in the researcher's backpack separate from each other, and once back at the university, placed into separate drawers to ensure that the two documents could not be connected.

Due to concerns raised in the ethics review about the sensitive nature of some of the questions bearing on physical and sexual victimization, as well as other issues raised in the interviews including substance abuse, a referral list of relevant social service agencies was a constant companion of the researcher. This list was available for provision to the respondent if warranted. However, despite the sensitivity of a number of the questions, the interviews proceeded without issue. In fact, most of the respondents spoke freely about their various experiences without pretence. During discussions that followed the interviews, some times days or weeks later, issues evolved where a respondent required clothes or shelter. At this time the researcher would mention the list, only to be informed that the respondent was already aware of these resources.

Contact locations varied from the street, to shopping malls, pedways, to street service agencies to LRT (subway) decks. All of the interviews were conducted in public places (malls, food courts, restaurants, library, Churchill Square). The most popular spot was the food court. It offered an escape from the elements, a place to sit, a table on which to write and a beverage for both the interviewer and interviewee.

While the optimal locations for interviewing, they were also locations that served to attract attention from security agents. On several occasions the researcher and the current respondent were asked to leave the premises on a number of arbitrary grounds. Most of the respondents were well known to the agents who battled to limit their presence in the malls. Security constantly harrassed the street youth, and the street youth reacted with anger, insults, and on one occasion assault. Thus, many of the interviews were interrupted and continued in other locations. Similarly, undercover police officers necessitated relocation on a few instances. The police presence detected, the youths became eager to change environments.

SAFETY

The nature of the study and the sample meant that the researcher was placed into an environment and situations within that environment that endangered his well being. First, respondents were not immune to settling their disputes in the presence of the researcher. On more than a couple of occasions a respondent was approached during an interview by another youth or youths previously interviewed and challenged for remarks allegedly made about personal characteristics, or drug quality and/or quantity. With the aggressors hovering above the interviewer and the subject, some of these disputes were settled verbally. However, a number of times knives were pulled and placed to the abdomen, back or neck of the violator. Warnings were then issued, denials made and the conflict left to fester for another time as the aggressors moved on. In one instance the verbal challenge was met with the appearance of a handgun. Another was met with a fist fight where the approaching youth was overcome only to escape and then be pursued by guardians of the target at his request. While the incidents involving knives did not progress beyond threats, the observation of wounds to forearms, the exhibition of scar tissue on necks, arms and abdomens by some respondents indicated that there were times when these weapons were utilized for more than intimidation purposes.

On a number of occasions the intimidation ritual was bypassed and violence erupted around the interviewer. "Walk bys" became a common occurrence. In these situations one youth, usually familiar to the interviewer, approached another youth with whom the interviewer and others were usually interacting. The approaching youth would suddenly attack, repeatedly beating his victim around the head and face with his fists rendering him incoherent on the ground, often with lacerations to his face. Often after a couple of swift kicks for good measure, the attacker would then flee, the whole incident a "flash in time." Most attackers, if past respondents, would approach the researcher at some later point during the day to inform him of the conquest or to inquire into his knowledge of the event. From their curiosities the interviewer got the impression that the attackers suffered from "tunnel vision" during these episodes, focusing only on their victims and their escapes.

On one occasion a youth was jumped by two attackers while walking along with the interviewer. He managed to escape and the researcher was able to interest the attackers in interviews. The interviewer was also invited along to events. Early on he was invited to watch a "skinner (rapist) get beat." He was encouraged to come along and "take notes." This invitation was declined. He did happen into a similar ceremony later in the study where numerous youth surrounded an alleged rapist and "took their shots." Invitations were also put forth for more elaborate episodes of gang fights which were also declined for reasons beyond the violence.

The logic here was that the researcher had come to know most of the participants concerned on both sides and feared being requested to become involved. The issue of allegiance, while never manifest, was always latent. The researcher sensed some feelings of disloyalty for example, when skinheads witnessed him interviewing a black respondent. Similarly, when a heavy metal native witnessed the researcher interviewing a skinhead or a prostitute there were some expressions of disappointment and disgust. However, these feelings were never verbally expressed. The understanding communicated, if not wholly accepted, was that the researcher was required to talk to a variety of youth from different groups and cliques.

To a certain extent it is believed that this protected the researcher. For example, in those situations where the researcher was interviewing a youth who was approached by others for some indiscretion, he could very well have been linked to the target and threatened and victimized. But he was not. It was recognized that he was different and only fulfilling a role that necessitated his interaction with others. To illustrate further, on one occasion a youth escorted the researcher to the train and then proceeded to shout derogatory remarks towards a prostitute accompanied by a drug dealer earlier interviewed. While the verbal conflict was abated by the distance between the two and the arrival of the belligerent youth's train, the drug dealer and his girl proceeded to sit on the train with the researcher and discuss different matters altogether, the conflict forgotten until revived on another occasion.

The researcher's connection with the cliques however, was not necessarily understood by those outside of the street youth network. His presence was probably interpreted as participation and it was this that created the most discomfort for the researcher. For example, after riding the bus with one respondent who loudly related his recent illegal acquisitions and developing stomach ailments from "pills," the researcher and the youth were referred to as "scum" as they departed the vehicle. Likewise, the respondents' tendencies to shout at passing females was a source of embarrassment.

However, it was the potential for danger that caused the most concern. For instance, the researcher grew uneasy while sitting with a group of skinheads who launched a verbal assault on a group of blacks at the next table. Visions of physical retaliation danced in the researcher's head. This situation was never more apparent than the night of the "Rap Riot." Here, a large number of black youth, allegedly downtown for a rap music movie, surrounded another youth and proceeded to assault him. The researcher, not far from the gang assault, was advised by the street youth surrounding him "nobody look or they're coming after us next." Our group then proceeded immediately for the train only to later learn that the incident had escalated into a riot.

MEASUREMENT

As has already been discussed, the interviews contained both forced choice items and open ended questions. Thus, both quantitative and qualitative data were available for analysis. The coding of the qualitative data was a challenge in that the sample entailed a much larger number of subjects than is customary in qualitative research. However, the qualitative data were an essential component of the analysis in the understanding of the subjective experiences of the street youth being interviewed. They provide an empathetic contextualized demonstration of the youths situations that can be fitted into the framework of the trends produced in the quantitative analysis.

Qualitative information was extracted by reading the transcripts from the questionnaires and developing categories from the data. These categories were broad enough so as not to lose any valuable information in the coding process. Categories that were somewhat similar were grouped together so as to facilitate collapsing if necessary. It is essential to understand that the response categories were established only after reading all the transcripts and closely examining the range of responses to the various questions. Transcripts were then reread and the information was recorded as a frequency count in one of the categories for that variable. It is also important to note that many of the responses contained enough information so that more than one category was required to saturate the response. For example, the response may have contained 2 clear categories. Thus, the first theme to appear was recorded as a frequency in one category, and the second in another category. The first category was coded as a first response, the second category as a second response.

The resulting frequency distributions allowed for the identification of the most important themes in the qualitative responses and also alerted the researcher to the various idiosyncratic compositions of some responses. It also allowed and facilitated theme reduction and the collapsing of categories. It is from these that the qualitative analysis that follows is drawn, and these data are exploited to describe, illustrate, and uncover the youths' experiences, interpretations and behaviors.

MEASURING CRIME

Information on a number of measures of criminal involvement was obtained via self report. Self report studies have become a standard approach to examining illegal behavior among household and student populations. An extensive literature has developed on the self report methodology indicating that its use with normal youth populations gives results that are both sufficiently accurate and fairly compatible with the conclusions drawn from analyses of arrest data (for summaries see Elliot et al., 1989:4-9; Hindelang et al., 1981:13-25; Johnson, 1979:89-93). Studies of more serious drug/crime participants consistently find that the respondents self-reports are "surprisingly truthful and accurate."(Inciardi et al., 1993; Johnson et al., 1985). Further, research has determined that the most accurate self-reported delinquency measures are those that ask questions about serious as opposed to trivial offfenses and utilize face to face interviews as opposed to paper-and pencil written questionnaires (see Huizinga and Elliot, 1986). The present research contained both of these characteristics.

Inciardi et al. (1993) argue that the most common source of unreliable self-report data comes not from deliberate lying but from recall difficulties. This is said to be a particular problem of those who commit crimes with great frequency. One solution that has been offered is to carefully construct questions so as not to request the unanswerable; for example, the number of crimes committed over a period longer than a year. Another solution to recall difficulties are interviewing techniques that help respondents reconstruct the time period being discussed. For instance, current criminal activities are linked not to some vague "prior twelve months" but to significant life events during that time-Christmas, birthdays, homelessness.

Self-report data can also be troublesome if respondents balk at critical questions, leaving large numbers of "missing data" responses. Being frank about interests and illegal activities, assurances of confidentiality and efforts to promote interviewer respondent rapport are routes explored with success to overcome this problem. All of these were exploited with success by the researcher.

The respondents were asked whether in the past year they had been questioned by the police as a suspect about some crime, and whether they had been convicted of some crime other than a traffic violation, in court. Respondents were also asked how many times in the past year they had committed one, or more of a range of crimes; specifically had they:

(1) -broken into a car?

(2) -broken into a building?

(3) -sold marijuana or other nonprescription drugs?

(4) -used physical force (like twisting an arm or choking) to get money or things from another person?

(5) -attacked someone with a weapon or your fists, injuring them so badly they probably needed a doctor?

(6) -got into a fight with someone just for the hell of it?

(7) -damaged or destroyed on purpose, property that didn't belong to you?

(8) -taken something worth less than $50 which did not belong to you?

(9) -taken something worth more than $50 which did not belong to you?

(10) -broken into a structure to sleep?

(11) -stolen food because you were hungry?

(12) -been paid to have sex?

(13) -Taken part in a fight where a group of your friends were against another group?

(14) -Taken a car that didn't belong to you or your family without permission of the owner?

(15) -Set fire to someone's property on purpose?

(16) -Made physically forceful attempts at sexual

activity which led to pleading, crying screaming and fighting on the part of the person to which these attempts were directed?

The researcher first provided respondents with an anchor to provide a context of time from which to draw their responses. For example, he would request information on what they were doing last February. Having keyed them to the time frame desired he then proceeded to ask the questions outlined above. Since many of the respondents had committed an enormous number of offenses it was also necessary for the researcher to take the time to work through with the respondent the number of his offenses. For example, several respondents chose to answer the questions with "lots" or "thousands." To try and attain more accurate figures the researcher proceeded to probe the respondent for the number of offenses on average per day or week depending on the type of offense. The respondent was then ask to recall if they had committed these offenses throughout the whole year and at this time was reminded of periods of incarceration, where presumably fewer offenses could take place. He was also asked if there were times during the year when he had for some reason not committed that type of offense. Questioning a respondent who had committed a large number of offenses on a certain measure typically proceeded in the following fashion:

I. How many times in the last year have you broken into a car?

R. Oh man, lots.

I. When you break into cars how many do you do a night on average?

R. We usually do 50 to 60.

I. How often do you go out, every night?

R. Usually once during the week, once on the weekend. We don't go out as much as BLANK and those guys. The BLANK Crew they go almost everyday. I've gone with them some times. I used to work with them but they're fucking nuts.

I. Did you hop all year, you were in jail for 2 months.

R. Yeah and I quit for about a month but all the rest of the time yeah, its how you get your flow?

I. So 50 times 2 is 100 a week times 39 weeks thats

3900. That sound about right.

R. Yeah I guess, thats a lot but we do a lot so it sounds right. But like I say some guys do more.

This process evolved into the most time consuming section of the survey. While the figures generated are unlikely to be perfectly accurate, and may have at times been exaggerated, it is believed that this process allows for the ranking of offenders on the various types of offenses. Those respondents who committed few acts of certain offenses had less difficulty recalling their frequency as did those who committed little crime overall. Some respondents more concerned with profit margins, for example drugs dealers, were able to work backwards from their take to determine the frequency of offenses.

CRIME INDEXES

Having listed the individual crime variables one can see that they can be easily combined into a number of different categories based on their definition in the Canadian Criminal Code, including violent crimes, property crimes, narcotic crimes, other crimes, and total crime. To take advantage of these natural groupings crime indexes were created. The first index measure, total crime, is simply an aggregation of the respondents' criminal behavior across the range of offenses listed above. It is a summary measure of the street youths' involvement in crime. The second and third measures, property crime and violent crime, are created by aggregating the respondents' criminal involvement across a range of offenses that are similarly defined by law. While there is only one narcotics measure, a survey of the frequency distributions indicates it is responsible for enormous numbers of offenses. Thus, it is important to remain on its own. Arson and vandalism are usually classified as "other" crimes. Since their numbers are relatively low, it was determined they did not require an index of their own. Instead they appear only in the total crime index.

An analysis of the raw frequency distributions for the crime indices suggested a high degree of skewness in the measures. This condition stemmed from the fact that most people report little crime and a few report a lot. In order to reduce this skewness the crime index values were put through a log conversion process, which significantly decreased the degree of skew in their distributions. Table 4.1 provides a summary of the raw means and standard deviations while Table 4.2 displays the means and standard deviations of the transformed indices.

TABLE 4.1
MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
TOTAL CRIME	1673	3776
PROPERTY CRIME	348	1404
VIOLENT CRIME	82	489
DRUG CRIME	1202	3092

TABLE 4.2
MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF LOGGED DEPENDENT VARIABLES

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
LOG TOTAL CRIME	4.95	2.656
LOG PROPERTY CRIME	3.20	2.350
LOG VIOLENT CRIME	2.16	1.721
LOG DRUG CRIME	2.96	3.419

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

BACKGROUND MEASURES:AGE, FAMILY STRUCTURE, CLASS BACKGROUND

Information was obtained in the interviews on a range of background, labour market, and non-labour market factors which may be important in explaining the relationship between unemployment and crime. A number of the background measures were easy to obtain. For instance, the respondent's age was a straight forward measure. However, the nature of the respondents, and the inclusion of multiple indicators necessitated the creation of new variables and the construction of scales and indexes.

The irregular nature of the sample posed the first problem. Much of the recent research on crime and delinquency has utilized samples drawn from schools and colleges located in small cities (or small towns), or in white middle class suburbs. The questions the researchers ask often reflect the backgrounds of their respondents, in particular, the two parent household. In an attempt to understand the role of background measures on criminal behavior, researchers delve into the respondents' relationships with both of their parents. Yet there are indications that many households contain only a single parent. For instance, one background measure in the present study tapped into the respondent's family structure. Respondents were queried about the parental content of their families. Respondents were asked if their household contained two biological parents, one biological parent and one step parent (or boy (girl)friend), or a single parent. This question revealed a diversity in the familial structure of the respondents and uncovered 70 families where only a single parent was present.

This poses difficulties in running certain statistics on the data. For instance, if one were to include measures for both parents in a multiple regression equation, all the respondents from single parent homes would be eliminated from the analysis. One solution to this is to include only the measures from a single guardian in the analysis. This, however, still eliminates a number of valuable cases and potentially important information. For example, if one were to include only the measures for the female guardians, all respondents where only a male guardian was present would be lost. Furthermore, the potential differences that exist between one parent and two parent households are eliminated.

In an attempt to overcome this problem new variables were created out of the parental measures in an attempt save the information and cases. The first variable to be dealt with was the class background of the respondents. Information existed on the occupations of the respondent's parents. The parents' occupations were examined and then coded into a occupational status scale created by Pineo et al.(1984). Respondents from homes where two parents were present had scores for both parents while in the others only one score was available. To include only those respondents with two parents would mean losing 70 valuable cases. The decision was made to select the highest occupational score for each family to represent the class location for each family. For example, if a respondent's father was a truck driver, and his mother a social worker, the mother's score was taken to represent the family's class location. In those cases where there was only one parent present, that parent's score served as the class background measure for that respondent. This created a scale that allowed the researcher to determine the status background of the child without losing valuable cases.

PARENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT

The parent utilized to create the class background measure then served as the parent whose employment history was examined to determine if there were periods of parental unemployment within the family. While this potentially eliminated the unemployment chronicled for the other parent, it was speculated that the unemployment of the most "senior" parent in terms of class status would leave the greatest impression on the respondent. For example, if a youth grew up in a home where his mother was a waitress who had been unemployed, and a father who was a plumber, who had never been unemployed, one suspects that the mother's unemployment would be less influential than had the father been unemployed.

INSTRUMENTAL, RELATIONAL AND COERCIVE CONTROL MEASURES

The uniqueness of the sample in terms of family background once more presented a problem when it was determined that measures of instrumental, relational and coercive control were to be in the forefront of the statistical analysis. Again, because of their family backgrounds some respondents had two scores on certain measures while others only had one. For example, one of the indicators of instrumental control "does your mother/father know where you are when you are out?" created one measure for some respondents and provided two for others. As before, the measure of the single guardian provided the score to be utilized in the combined variable. The question, however, became how to use the responses of the youths from two parent homes. One line of exploration was to merely add the scores together which would suggest that those with two parents were advantaged in terms of the variable. For example, if a respondent indicated that neither his father nor mother knew where he was when he went out, he would score a two on the variable; a score of one for each "never" response. In contrast a respondent from a single parent household who professed that his parent never knew where he was when he was out scored only a one. A comparison of the two scores would reveal that the respondent from the two parent household was subjected to more instrumental control than his one parent peer even though neither of the respondents were subjected to any instrumental control.

To overcome this problem the decision was made to divide by two the scores of those respondents with two parents. Thus, our respondent with two parents who was subject to no instrumental control was similar to the respondent with one parent who experienced no instrumental control. This adjustment, however, still allowed for the potentially important effect of two guardians as a "control" variable. For instance, if the respondent with two parents, testified that one parent sometimes knew where he was (a score of 3) and the other never knew where he was (a score of one), his combined score would be two (1+3/2=2). This score would be higher than the respondent with a lone parent who never knew where he was.

This method of scoring was also felt to more accurately represent the two parent respondent. Had the other method been utilized he would be given a score of four (1+3=4), a number attainable only by a lone parent respondent whose parent "usually" knew where he was when he was out. Thus, this method kept the original scale of the question intact while at the same time provided the opportunity for the potential effect of the second guardian to come through.

This procedure was repeated with a number of other measures where the number of parents present dictated the need for new variable creation. This included the creation of a variable to represent another aspect of instrumental control "did your mother/father know who you were with when you were out?" utilizing the process described above.

The creation of these two new variables offered two different measures of instrumental control. To more strongly represent the instrumental control concept, it was decided to exploit the presence of the multiple indicators. The two newly created variables were coupled to create a summary measure of instrumental control. This produced an ALPHA measure of .7305 for the combination of "did your mother/father know where you were when you were out?" and "did your mother/father know who you were with when you were out?"

As a general rule, the higher the ALPHA coefficient the better. Carmines and Zellers (1979) suggest that reliabilities for widely used scales should not be below .80. They do admit however, that the Alpha is a conservative test for reliability. Garrett and Woodworth (1961) point out that the size of reliability coefficient required depends on the size and variability of the group. They argue that in some cases a reliability coefficient need be no higher than .50 or .60. The more heterogeneous the group the higher the reliability coefficient needed. The measure just reported and those that follow are between .50 and .80 and thus should be explored with some caution. However, our sample, while certainly containing variation, is atypical and probably somewhat more homogenous than other populations sampled in social sciences. They are restricted by age, gender, and other study imposed parameters. Thus, we believe that with caution we can make "descriptive explorations" and "initial predictive modelling" using these measures.

The process of creating new variables that were in turn combined into a summary measure scale was repeated for the concept of relational control. In this instance there were more indicators available to use in the scaling procedure. Four questions provided the base of the measure. They included: "How often did you talk with your mother/father about your thoughts and feelings?" ; How often did you spend time with your mother/father doing things together?"; When you had any kind of personal problem, how often did your mother/father give you her/his support and guidance?"; and Would you like to be the kind of person your mother/father is?". New variables were first created for these questions by the process already detailed above. The four new variables were then combined into an relational control scale with an ALPHA reliability coefficient of .7854.

The creation of a coercive control measure necessitated the combination of two more variables. Recalling that we suggested that physical discipline and abuse would sever and destroy bonds and attachments within the family, the questions "Did your parents or guardians ever use physical forms of discipline?" and "Have you ever been intentionally struck so hard by a parent or guardian that it caused a bruise or bleeding?" were first recreated combining the parents' scores, and then coupled to produce a coercive control concept. The ALPHA reliability coefficient of .8450 pointed to the high degree of scalability of the two items.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL COMMITMENT

Education was measured merely by asking respondents for the last grade in school they had completed. However, the demand for a summary measure of school commitment once more required the melding of multiple measures. Three questions within the interview schedule were deemed to represent the concept of commitment to school. The questions "Describe your school attendance before you (graduated) dropped out"; "How often did you do homework projects, etc. after school?"; and "How often did you have trouble with teachers?" all embodied such a concept. Since the school questions were unrelated to the number of parents the respondent had in the home, no variable creation was necessary in this case. However, one of the measures was a four category measure, the other two five. Since both the five category measures were skewed somewhat, they could easily be recoded, combining the two upper choices together, creating four category measures. The three variables were then melded into the school commitment measure. The ALPHA reliability coefficient of .5702 was slightly lower than desired.

CRIMINAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES

The final two background measures were much more easily obtained. First, as already discussed above, the reliability of self-report measures beyond a year are subject to problems of reliability and validity. To get around this problem, a proxy measure of the respondents' prior criminal behavior was constructed. Respondents were asked to recall how many of their friends had been arrested when they lived at home: none, a few, some, most or all. While also subject to problems of recall, it was expected that the potential reduction in numbers would facilitate a more accurate retention of memory and thus provide a better measure. It was speculated that those who had no or few friends picked up by the police were probably not serious offenders when they lived at home. On the other hand, respondents who indicated that most or all of their friends had been arrested, were believed to have more extensive criminal histories.

The current living circumstances of the respondents was obtained simply by asking where they were currently residing: with their parents, in a group or foster home, in their own apartment, or in a shelter or NFA.

Table 4.3 provides a summary of the means and standard deviations of the various background variables to be included in the quantitative analysis.

TABLE 4.3
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES

BACKGROUND VARIABLE	MIN	MAX	MEAN	STD DEV
AGE	12	24	18.86	3.092
CLASS	1	16	7.36	4.881
PARENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	1	2	1.53	.500
FAMILY STRUCTURE	1	3	2.11	.776
INSTRUMENTAL CONTROL	1	5	2.36	1.043
RELATIONAL CONTROL	1	5	2.38	.853
COERCIVE CONTROL	1	5	2.62	1.241
EDUCATION	5	12	9.53	1.480
SCHOOL COMMITMENT	1	4	2.25	.811
PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY	1	5	3.43	1.091
CURRENT LIVING CIR	1	3	2.19	.785

LABOUR MARKET FACTORS

The five labour market variables were relatively straightforward. Current employment status was obtained by asking the youths if they were currently employed full-time, part-time, or not at all. The total number of jobs in their history was simply the aggregation of all jobs held over their lifetimes. Length of unemployment was determined by asking the respondents "How many months in the last year were you out of work but looking for work?" Length of discouragement was ascertained by asking the youths "How many months in the last year were you out of work but not looking for work?" Respondents were reminded in undertaking their calculations not to include their periods of incarceration in either of these two measures.

The financial status variable was constructed from all the available resources respondents had at their disposal including employment income, and various types of state support. Those employed were asked how much money a month they received after deductions. Those on state support were asked how much they received a month from their sources. Table 4.4 provides a summary of the means and standard deviations of the labour market variables.

TABLE 4.4
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF LABOUR MARKET VARIABLES

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	MIN	MAX	MEAN	STD DEV
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT	1	3	2.71	.648
MONTHS UNEMPLOYED	0	12	2.72	3.150
MONTHS DISCOURAGED	0	12	5.50	4.207
LEGAL INCOME	0	2400	334.10	472.176
TOTAL # OF JOBS	0	75	7.19	10.115

STREET INVOLVEMENT MEASURES

Three of the five street involvement measures were obtained by single items. To acquire the length of time living on the street, respondents were asked to indicate how many months in the last year they had been without a fixed address.

To tap into subcultural influences the youths were asked "How important is it to you that your best friends approve of the things that you do?" This was created to measure the peer influence in the respondents' criminal behavior. A second question "How often has anyone helped you steal or sell the things you took?" was designed to ascertain the role of peer participation in the respondents' criminal behavior.

A summary measure of criminal activities for the purpose of obtaining illegal drugs and alcohol was created to reflect one aspect of serious street involvement. Three items were combined to create a drug involvement scale. The questions "How often have you engaged in criminal behavior (other than selling drugs) in order to gain funds to purchase drugs or alcohol?"; How often have you sold drugs in order to gain funds to pay for your own drugs?"; and How often have you robbed (used or threatened physical force) someone for their drugs?" produced a comfortable ALPHA reliability coefficient of .6100.

Three other scales were created to reflect street involvement. Each was meant to represent the role of intoxication in the commission of certain types of crime. The first coupled the questions "How often have you attacked someone with your fists while under the influence of drugs?; and How often have you attacked someone using your fists while under the influence of alcohol?" and was designed to represent the influence of drugs and/or alcohol in violent offenses. The alliance of "How often have you stolen something while under the influence of drugs?"; and "How often have you stolen something while under the influence of alcohol?" was prepared to express the effect of these substances in property crime. Finally, all four of the above mentioned questions were grouped to help explain the role of drugs and alcohol in the commission of all crime. The ALPHA reliability coefficients were: for the violent scale .7776; for the property scale .7558; and for the total scale .7273. Table 4.5 provides a summary of the means and standard deviations of the street involvement measures.

TABLE 4.5
MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF STREET VARIABLES

STREET VARIABLE	MIN	MAX	MEAN	STD DEV
TIME ON STREET	0	12	3.22	3.992
PEER PRESSURE	1	5	3.22	1.308
PEER INVOLVEMENT	1	5	2.57	1.234
DRUG INVOLVEMENT	1	4	1.99	.888
TOT CRIME UNDER DRUGS	1	4	2.10	.916
PROP CRIME UNDER DRUGS	1	4	2.06	1.130
VIOL CRIME UNDER DRUGS	1	4	2.15	1.093

ATTRIBUTIONAL AND AFFECTIVE REACTION MEASURES

The final scale construction moved away from the background, labour market and street measures towards those related to the youths' assessments of the causes of their unemployment. This required the construction of four scales to represent "Competence Deficiency," "Economic/Recession," "Motivation," and "Interviewer/Appearance Adequacy." The data once more allowed multiple indicators to be used to represent these concepts.

The "Competence Deficiency Scale" was devised to test if the youth blamed their lack of training, skills and education for their unemployment. It was thus an examination of self-blame and utilized three questions. The respondents were asked how important the following were as direct causes of their unemployment: the "lack of good education?"; the "lack of work experience?"; and the "lack of specific skills?" These three questions produced an ALPHA reliability coefficient of .6387 when combined.

The scale introduced to represent the economic recession took advantage of three measures as well. Here a measure of the role of outside forces in the youth's unemployment was devised. Again respondents were asked to indicate how influential the following were as antecedents to their joblessness: "the failure of private industry to offer enough jobs?"; "the failure of government to create sufficient jobs?" and "the economic situation of the country?". The ALPHA reliability coefficient of .6839 for the "Economic Recession Scale" was slightly higher than that recorded for the "Competence Deficiency Scale."

The third scale was produced to delineate the concept of motivation, another possible internal explanation. Here two measures were utilized. The first "not trying hard enough" and the second "not wanting a job, no genuine interest in getting a job" together generated an ALPHA reliability coefficient of .5244. This coefficient is somewhat lower than is optimal. Thus, interpretation of the results generated from this scale must be made with caution.

The final scale also put to use two questions asked of the respondents. These two requested information about the role of the respondents' appearance and interview adequacy in their unemployment. The questions "poor appearance?" and "inability to handle interviews well?" produced an ALPHA reliability coefficient of .5175. Again, this is lower than desired and caution must be exercized in the interpretation of our results.

The other 6 measures were gathered through forced choice items. In an attempt to tap into the idea of a blocked opportunity structure, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "Any person who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding." To determine the perceptions of financial well being the youths were asked to describe their financial situation: I usually have more money than I need; I usually have enough money to get by; or I am usually short of money.

The four affective reaction measures were gathered by asking respondents to agree or disagree with the statements "I feel guilty/ angry/ helpless/ depressed about my unemployment." Table 4.5 provides a summary of the means and standard deviations of the attributional and affective reaction measures.

With explanations of sampling, data collecting, coding and item construction now complete, it is now time to move on to begin data analysis and the attempts to understand and explain how the role of background factors, labour market difficulties, street factors and affective reactions and causal interpretations influence the criminal behavior of street youth.

TABLE 4.5
MEANS AND STD DEVS OF ATTRIBUTIONAL AND AFFECTIVE VARIABLES

STREET VARIABLE	MIN	MAX	MEAN	STD DEV
COMPETENCE	1	5	2.31	.795
INTERVIEW/APPEAR	1	5	2.69	1.100
MOTIVATION	1	5	2.45	1.105
ECONOMIC/RECESSION	1	5	2.43	.777
STRAIN	1	5	1.90	.916
GUILT	1	5	3.04	1.232
ANGER	1	5	3.17	1.228
HELPLESSNESS	1	5	3.39	1.108
DEPRESSION	1	5	3.44	1.103
FINANCE PERCEPTION	1	3	2.52	.593

CHAPTER FIVE

DESCRIPTIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

In an attempt to gain some initial understanding of the street youth under study, the present analysis will begin with a descriptive overview. The goal of this section is to provide the frequency distributions of the variables to be examined in the quantitative analysis to follow, while at the same time supplying a parallel qualitative analysis to provide the context, facilitating a more detailed understanding of the youth under study. This discussion of the open-ended interview data is intended to strengthen the grasp of the patterns and structures that help explain the relationship between street youth, unemployment, subjective reactions and crime.

Discussion begins with a brief description of the environments and daily activities of these youths. It will then move to outline the basic characteristics of the sample in terms of age, race and style. Here, insights into group formation, peer approval and participation and the part these play in street life and criminal behavior will be explored. Analysis will then proceed to focus on the family backgrounds from which street youth emerge and how these situations encourage, permit or force youth to spend their time, or make their home on the street. An examination of school histories will follow, documenting another facet of these youths lives that may contribute to explaining their present situations and behaviors.

The overview of school histories allows the preliminary analysis to dovetail into a review of the youths' work histories. Explored will be the number of jobs and types of employment, their present financial situations, the length of their unemployment and discouragement, and their reasons for not searching for work. Analysis will progress to the youths' explanations for and affective reactions to their unemployment. Internal and external attributions of unemployment will be explored as will the affective states of guilt, anger, helplessness, and depression.

The following chapter will then proceed to the types and amounts of criminal behavior. This will be followed by an examination of the drug and alcohol use within the sample.

The descriptive and qualitative analysis complete, the dissertation will proceed to the quantitative analysis. The variables created and discussed within chapter four will be analyzed utilizing multiple regression techniques in an attempt to determine the importance of each in explaining the criminal behavior of street youth. Interaction effects between the resulting significant subjective variables and other significant predictors will be explored to measure the role these play in accounting for the illicit actions of street youth. These significant variables will also be utilized in the creation of path models in an endeavour to illustrate the causal process leading to street youth's illegal activities.

LIFE ON THE STREET

We begin the analysis by providing a descriptive overview of the sights, sounds and activities of the street. This process will provide the reader with an environmental portrait with which to contextualize the findings of the research.

To begin to describe the environments of the respondents is to relate a number of images that are in vivid contrast to one another. Street youth take advantage of the different geographical locations available to them. First, the youth make their presence felt in the downtown business core of the city. They move through many of the more opulent structures in the area (luxurious hotels, office towers, malls) on their travels and exploit the regions in front of these dominating buildings of glass and steel to sell their wares (drugs). At the same time they immerse themselves in areas populated by respectable business people and conventional shoppers patrolling the pedways, malls and LRT decks that provide escape from the often harsh seasonal elements of the city. These locations also provide prime locations for such activities as theft, robbery, the exchange of stolen goods and drug distribution. While these environments are shared during the day, those with employment abandon the area in the late afternoon leaving the street youth to become the guardians of the downtown core.

Yet, unlike the others who spend their days in the city, street youth also spend time, and are just as comfortable, in less aesthetically desirable ares. They roam the "drag," the "strip" or "skid row," an area spotted with drinking establishments that display large signs prohibiting the possession of knives inside. Run down rooming houses, hotels, streetfront services, pawnshops and other establishments that front drug distribution line the streets. Here older street people, often intoxicated, dot the area. The police station and remand center tower above the region, a visible reminder of the serious problems that plague the area. And just in case these structures are insufficient cues, the law courts are also visible from strip.

To the north west of the central area are the homeless shelters and detox centers. To the east is the inner city, an area with small houses in dire need of maintenance decorated with the signs of rental agencies. The inner city is also occupied by fortified drug houses, shooting galleries and prostitutes earning their keep. Street youth patrol all of these areas. These are the locations that provide them with friends, criminal partners, food, shelter, drugs, alcohol, criminal opportunities and clientele. It is in these locations that street youth carry out most of their daily activities.

On any given morning some of the respondents begin their days exiting the shelters or hostels that provided last night's sleep. Others awake on the floors of friends or acquaintances. Others start their mornings in a hotel room purchased for the night or week with money from criminal activities. Still others find themselves emerging from their sleep in the abandoned houses, buildings, or warehouses that have been adopted as homes. In warmer times some crawl out from the under the tree or bushes they called a bedroom for the night.

For a small minority of sample, the first project for the day is to go to work if they have a job. Absent from the area during the day, they return each evening in search of friends, drugs and alcohol.

> **Work all day, go home, get cleaned up, smoke a couple joints maybe go to the bar (057).**
>
> **Get up, go to work, if its pay day cash my check, buy drugs and come down here to see whose down here (036).**

For those less fortunate, the search for employment begins. This means trips to temporary services, and other drop-in centers. Some of these later facilities provide coffee and other enticements including T.V., pool tables and computor games to help fill the long days of some of the street youth and older street people. For others, failed job searches are preceded and/or followed by forays into the malls in attempts to locate coffee and friends.

> **Usually get up. Get 5 or 6 resumes out a day. End up at the Mustard Seed shooting coffee (041).**
>
> **Quit drinking about a week ago. Go out to temporary services, after that go into the drop-in center and play pool (145).**
>
> **Get up, have a shower, smoke a joint, go to Boyle, play computer games.(149).**
>
> **I go to the drop-in center at Boyle Street Co-op and play pool. Talk to each other about where we work or how we could get these jobs (098).**
>
> **Hand out resumes, fill out applications, sit and talk with friends or relatives, go walk through a mall (017).**
>
> **Get up in the morning and I go look for work. Then I sit**

> **around the mall until my stress is diminished. And do things to self improve myself (055).**
>
> **Come to the mall, go check out. Look for a job downtown. Go to the unemployment center (081).**
>
> **Newspaper, job hunting, applications, coffee at the mall (087).**

While some street youth pass their days watching television, playing pool, or challenging video games in streetfront services, others choose not to regularly access these resources. Instead, they spend their days roaming the malls and streets of the downtown core. The prime activity for these youths is to "hang out," and travel around "scrounging" for a coffee and "bumming" cigarettes. Some of these youths patrol the food courts of downtown malls, salvaging spent cigarettes and fashioning the remaining tobacco into hand rolled substitutes. Others scavenge the tables for previously used coffee or soft drink cups eligible for refills or snatch food left by patrons. Inside the malls they are targets for security surveillance; their behaviors observed and noted. They are constantly harassed by mall security forces who disperse them into the pedways or onto the streets for further travels around the downtown core.

> **Since I'm in a hostel I just walk around. I have no money but I do get some hoots (086).**
>
> **Go for coffee, go to library, read. Walk around and look for people that's it (072).**
>
> **I walk a lot. I walk, I meet people. Pretty well just stay out of trouble (051).**
>
> **Hanging around malls and coffee shops milking people. Trying to stay away from the drinking scene (030).**
>
> **Just hang out, go down to the malls, walk around, talk to people and that (022).**

While some of the youths occupy themselves searching for food, coffee and cigarettes, others focus their effort on the acquisition and ingestion of drugs and alcohol. A large number of the street youths spend their days stoned or drunk or seeking avenues to do so. Their travels within the downtown core are essentially explorations for funds to support their habits, and reconnaissance missions to secure desired substances. Some retreat to the privacy of a friends' apartment or room to ingest these intoxicants. Others attempt to shade themselves from exposure in back alleys, parkades, bathrooms, squats or the river valley. Still others favour the bars that spot the area.

> **Get high a little bit now. Not as much as I used too. Survive, just wake up the next morning, sit around and listen to tunes I guess, do some blasts, run into guys like you, look for odd job here and there and drugs (060).**
>
> **Usually hang out with my good friends, smoke drugs (043)**
>
> **Go over to my friends place, listen to music, Get stoned. Drunk sometimes (078).**
>
> **Drugs, hang out. Walk around. Things you do when you're on drugs (080.)**
>
> **Sleep in, smoke drugs, drink with my friends (092).**
>
> **Go downtown, get some money to go drink. That's what we do (091).**
>
> **Get up, grab a shower. Getting high, getting drunk, talking to people, Using people really (110).**
>
> **Wake up, get some alcohol, get some drugs, get high (120).**
>
> **Wake up, have a shower, and go out and look for drugs. If I can't find drugs I just go out and walk around and look for a job. I do look for a job, but not very hard (104).**
>
> **I sleep til the afternoon. Walk around try and get money so I can go out and drink. That's basically it (090).**
>
> **Get up. Come here. Get high. Go home. Get high. Pass out. Same thing next day (062).**

For many, the searches for drugs and alcohol are intertwined with various illegal activities. For those youths who have made their "scores" in the late evening through car theft, car hopping (breaking into vehicles), and robbery, the morning requires business acumen. The youth attempt to pry fair prices for their stolen wares from the fences and other customers who populate the downtown area. Stops at pawn shops and other legitimate businesses are also scheduled with regularity by the youth or their "agents" in attempts to liquidate the previous nights' acquisitions. Mornings and early afternoons also provide prime break and enter opportunities for those so inclined. The youth search for homes without guardianship, attempting to determine if occupants have vacated the target to meet employment and school commitments. Success means a return to downtown to warehouse their goods or for quick exchanges.

For those distributing drugs, a new day means replenishing stocks if need be, and then resuming positions in the locations found to be the most profitable. Some of the more aggressive solicit passersby. Others wait to be approached, or rely on their established clientele and their pagers to secure their sales. Upon locating an interested buyer, the more cautious guide clients into more discrete locations to make exchanges, while the brave quickly carry out their business in public spaces. Many of the drug dealers rotate their locations through the day, while others, confident that their location will yield a sufficient number of customers, move only when prodded by police or security. And for those who engaged in both drug distribution and property offenses, their days were divided up to take advantage of both illegal avenues.

> Wake up, come down here with friends, talk, smoke dope. When the sun goes down crime. If I find liquor cabinets its the first thing I get. Rent a hotel room, party. See the male hookers, get half their money or they get their heads kicked in. No one fucks with us. So if we don't protect them those fags are dead (033).
>
> Illegal activities. B and E's mostly. Go to the bar, shoot pool, stay out be rowdy, meet with friends, go blow a few, climb a building, drink a case, then random crime (044).
>
> Wake up. Go to the ------- sell. Go to the mall sell. Go to --------. Pick up. Sell. Its business man. Go to the arcade and pick up women, get high (045).
>
> I usually go with a couple of buddies of mine. Make money, make money from the money. That's all I do eat, sleep, and make money (100).
>
> Usually wake up. Then crime. Roll people. Get drugs, Do B and E's. Do car hopping (024).
>
> Get up. Take a shower. Get high. Drink. Do B and E's (109).
>
> Break into cars. Beat the shit out of people. Get high (056).

> **Pay for the hotel room for another day. Go out, sell bit of drugs, shoplift a bit, sell some cigarettes, drink, go back to the hotel eventually (061).**
>
> **Wake up. Go to -----------. Sell grams. Go home. Get stoned (066).**
>
> **Went to dealers house. Got high. Got some dope. Sold it. Did crime later (121).**

The brisk atmosphere of daytime downtown, and the more placid atmosphere that pervades skid row, are sporadically interrupted by violent altercations between street youths. Personal affronts, bad drug deals, and unsatisfactory stolen property exchanges are all handled publicly with fists and knives. As quickly as they evolve, they dissipate, returning the areas to their regular patterns of activity.

As late afternoon approaches and the conventional population abandons the downtown core, some youth return to the shelters. Others proceed to the bars, nightclubs, or other settings that provide a party flavour. The drug dealers retire to the bars and restaurants searching for additional customers. The banter and music of these bars plays parallel to the eruption of additional violent altercations stemming from other slights and deals.

As darkness envelops the city, the criminal nightshift begins with "crews" roaming the streets in search of attractive targets to roll, cars to steal, and vehicles to break into. Groups of youth travelling the areas clash over style, and slights to membership and friendship. And as the night fades into early morning, the street youth return to their squats, their hotel rooms, their friends' floors, or their shrubs to renew and prepare themselves for the next day.

AGE

In developing the present project, it was determined that the sample should be large enough to capture and accurately represent the various types of youth spending their time on the street. At the same time, sample selection guidelines were imposed by the research questions. One of those guidelines was in reference to age. In order to determine the role of age in unemployment and crime there was a need to obtain data from both younger and older youth. A lower limit of age twelve was enforced, and a ceiling of age twenty four was placed on the sample in congruence with the observations that most street youth fall within this range (Caputo and Ryan, 1991: 8-10).

Remembering these study-imposed parameters, it comes as no surprise that the age of the sample ranged from a high of twenty four to a low of twelve. The average age of the sample population was close to nineteen (X=18.86). While the evidence of a twelve year old "boy" living on the street is striking, younger respondents "on the street" were the exception rather than the rule. Only thirteen (6.5%) of the respondents were aged fourteen years or younger. More common in the sample were youths aged 15 to 19 (n=108) and those between the ages of 20 and 24 (n=79).

RACE AND STYLE

The racial makeup of the sample was predominantly Caucasian (77%). Saying this, almost a quarter of the respondents (n=46) were from other racial groups. Native Indians made up the majority of the other respondents (n=32).

TABLE 5.1
SAMPLE STYLE

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HEAVY METAL	83	41.5
RAP/HIPHOP	56	28.0
SKINHEAD	14	7.0
PUNK	10	5.0
CLEANCUT	37	18.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

The remainder of the category was comprised of twelve blacks, one East Indian and one Philipino.

Aside from racial characteristics the youths were also identifiable by their stylistic characteristics. The respondents had adopted one of five styles: heavy metal, rap/hiphop, skinhead, punk, and cleancut. The heavy metal style accounted for the appearance of 83 youths. Both white and native youth as well as the lone East Indian favoured this style. The "metalheads" "rockers", or "headbangers" could be recognized by their shoulder length hair; earrings in their left ears; black T-shirts emblazoned with the logos of metal bands; leather or denim jackets; denim pants; and hightop basketball shoes or black boots. A number of the heavy metal youth also displayed tattoos on their arms and hands. These "banger" youths were concentrated in the downtown core of the city.

The rap/hiphop style had been chosen by 56 of the youth in the sample. Youths clothed in this style tended to dress in a colorful array of oversized baggy pants; oversized T-Shirts adorned with the logos of various popular US professional and college sports teams. These sports logos were also prominent on the large thigh-length jackets, kangaroo jackets (sweattops with a hood and a large pocket in the abdominal area), and the baseball style hats worn backwards by most of these youth. Rappers tended to wear athletic shoes and a number of them wore earrings in both of their ears. All racial groups (with the exception of the East Indian) were represented in the rap style, including most of the Black youth surveyed. The whites who had adopted this style were sometimes referred to as "wiggers," a euphemism for "white nigger" or "wanna be nigger." The rappers tended to be concentrated in the west end of the city. Those rappers who "hung out" downtown tended to wear the "colours" of either the "LA Raiders" football team or the "Chicago Bulls" basketball team. The west end rappers were much more varied in their attire.

The skinheads could be identified by their shaved heads, black or green "flight" (bomber style) jackets, "Doc Marten" or combat boots, and denim pants stuffed into their boots. A number of the skinheads exhibited tattoos on their arms, hands, chests, necks and foreheads. Skinheads have gained a reputation for their white supremacist ideology so it came as no surprise that all but one of the youths were white. However, there seemed to be variation in the support for this racist ideology. Six of the 14 skinheads identified constantly made their racial views known. The other 8 (including a native), aside from sporadic racial comments, did not appear overtly racist. The cliques within the group were for the most part divided along these lines. All of the skinheads spent their time in the downtown core of the city.

A small number of native and white youth favoured a punk style (N=10). The punks could be identified by their hairstyles (which ranged from mohawks (heads shaved on either side of a row of hair down the middle of their skull) to dreadlocks (hair knotted in rows), their "Doc Marten" boots, combat boots, or high top running shoes along with denim pants, and leather or denim jackets. A number of the punks were attached to the skinheads, particularly the nonracist clique, and "hung out" downtown.

Finally, there was a significant number of youths who could only be described as clean cut. They had short hair, wore various types of nondescript jackets, pants, shirts and shoes. These youth were concentrated downtown and for the most part tended to be older.

CLIQUE FORMATION

The various styles just described tended to determine friendship cliques. For example, those who had embraced a heavy metal style spent most of their time with others who were of the heavy metal style. However, the large number of youths with similar styles prohibited the formation of a single cohesive group. Numbers dictated the formation of different friendship cliques with similar styles. More accurately, cliques emerged out of style, age, interests and other matters that influenced friendship. Thus, while their style gave them some basis for identification, the eighty three heavy metal youth were not one large group but a number of different friendship cliques.

While style influenced cliques, it was not a perfect indicator. For example, there were no friendship cliques of clean cut youths. Instead these youth tended to be dispersed amongst the various other stylistic groups. A number of other cases emerged where youths were stylistic anomalies within their network. As already discussed, a number of punks had aligned themselves with a group of skinheads. Some heavy metal types also hung out with this group of punks and the skinheads. These youth "squatted" (lived in abandoned buildings) and "did crime" together despite their stylistic differences. In fact, they were one of the few groups who could be identified by a self-given group name.

The general homogeneity of cliques did not prohibit interaction with other stylistic cliques. However, interaction between members of cliques was often swayed by "street commerce." Respondents in one clique would often purchase drugs from members of other cliques if the product was unavailable from a dealer within their own network. For example, if skinhead dealers were only distributing LSD or acid, a skinhead seeking amphetamines or "speed" would be forced to search outside his group for someone (perhaps a headbanger) selling this type of product. Similarly, stolen property was traded between members of different stylistic cliques. On one occasion a rapper might sell a "hot" walkman to a rocker. On another, the rocker might sell a stolen jacket to a rapper. Style did not interrupt "business". In some cases the interactions went beyond commerce or transactions and the street kids "partied together" at bars, parks and in hotel rooms.

GROUP CONFLICT

Despite the business and nonbusiness interactions between respondents in the various groups, conflict was still evident. To a certain degree this was based on group and stylistic loyalty (eg. skins against rockers). These types of conflicts indicate group norms concerning insiders versus outsiders. However, much of the conflict that took place tended to emerge out of disagreements between members of different groups who were then provided guardianship from their stylistically similar friends. For example, if a skinhead was in a disagreement with a heavy metal type, "skins" would come to the aid of their friend, and the "bangers" to the aid of theirs. The result was an escalation to combat between multiple members of each group. These conflicts went beyond indicating group boundaries to demonstrating the evolution of norms regarding protection for those within the network.

But the hostilities emerging out of these types of disagreements could also take place between members of cliques with similar styles. If a heavy metal type had a disagreement with another heavy metal type, this presented a situation where the possibility existed that two cliques adopting the heavy metal style might clash. The fact that disagreements took place between cliques of similar styles suggested that it was within cliques rather than styles that norms concerning identification, guardianship and violence emerged.

Much of the violence was "one on one" and emerged out of situations which called for image defense, retaliation, or revenge. Respondents commonly explained their violent responses were triggered by someone calling them a name, "lipping" them off, looking at them funny, spreading rumours, or "bumping" into them. Others found conflict recreational and fought for fun, or for something to do. Some of these conflicts would escalate to include others in the cliques, but often were settled between the original disputants, often with verbal support from the clique audience.

Despite their stylistic differences, and some of the resulting strife, these various groups seemed to share a sense of "territory." They believed that the downtown core, or the West end was theirs. Thus, there were clashes with groups or individuals who were from outside the territory. For example, youth from Bonnie Doon, the West Edmonton Mall, or from certain schools were all viewed as outsiders to the youths who hung out downtown. In cases of crisis, various cliques of different stylistic groups from downtown would form temporary alliances to confront their invaders. Similarly, the youths at West Ed would ban together to face outsiders. In fact, these youth were somewhat more sophisticated and organized, carrying pagers to signal trouble in various areas of the mall.

In sum, the stylistic divisions were chock full of contradictions leading to both conflict and alliance. The necessity to "do business" and to defend themselves led to association and union. The stylistic branches and the friendships they entailed led to discord. Together they influenced the behavior of the youths on the street and their interactions with each other.

GROUP SUPPORT

Despite the guardianship and the increase in group cohesion in periods of conflict, there was a great deal of variation in the respondents' perceptions of their friends' influence over them. For example, as Table 5.2 indicates, only 68 respondents reported that it was important that their best

TABLE 5.2
HOW IMPORTANT BEST FRIENDS APPROVE OF BEHAVIOR

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VERY IMPORTANT	20	10.0
IMPORTANT	48	24.0
NEITHER/NOR	45	22.5
UNIMPORTANT	42	21.0
VERY UNIMPORTANT	45	22.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.3
HOW OFTEN HAS ANYONE HELPED YOU STEAL

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	51	25.5
A FEW TIMES	49	24.5
SOMETIMES	46	23.0
MOST TIMES	43	21.5
ALWAYS	11	5.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

friends approve of their behavior. In contrast 87 revealed that they did not care how their best friends felt. A further 45 were ambiguous about the importance of the feelings of their best friends towards their behavior. This finding offers minimal support for the speculation made in hypothesis 3 A, that there is a great deal of peer pressure on the street to become involved in criminal activities. One possible explanation is that the unstable friendship networks on the street inhibit the development of strong norms. These social webs are constantly being altered and rebuilt as youths move in and out of prison, drug and alcohol rehabilitation or the city itself. Saying this, it is yet to be determined if it is those youth who feel the greatest amount of social pressure who engage in more criminal behavior.

While support for hypothesis 3 A is potentially limited, the data reveal a stronger backing for hypothesis 3 B. Friends may not have exerted a great deal of social pressure to undertake crime, but they certainly offered companionship in crime. When respondents were questioned as to how often someone had helped them steal or sell the items they stole, 149 (75%) testified that they had companions in crime on at least a few occasions (Table 5.3). These numbers suggest that friendship networks coalesce amongst youth with similar life situations and interests including crime, where perhaps less social pressure is required to engage in criminal activity. If one wishes to "do crime" one can always find a willing associate to come along. The obligatory pressure imposed to entice a neophyte to engage in crime is not essential when those forming friendships are already deeply involved in criminal activity. The implicit support for criminal behavior is manifest by one another's activities. The predilection to this behavior and similar bent amongst the others on the street provided ample opportunity for support and partnership in crime for those so inclined. In fact it can be argued that there was some tendency for the groups to form around certain types of criminal activities.

While all the styles were represented in the various offense types by high rate offenders, respondents adopting certain styles generally favoured certain offenses. For example, the metal youth were heavily involved in drug distribution, punks tended to indulge in property offenses, and rappers preferred violent crime. The skinheads revealed little partiality, exhibiting extreme participation in all types of offenses. It would appear that youths who are bias towards certain types of offending will end up in the company of others who also exhibit a partialness to these offenses. This may help to explain stylistic anomalies. For example, we would expect, and is confirmed, that the heavy metal types and punks who spent considerable time with the skinheads would also show no specialization in offending. Yet, it also the case that in the larger groups (eg. rappers and headbangers) there is enough variation in the ranks so that those wishing to engage in a certain type of offense can always locate and align themselves with a clique of high rate property, violent, drug, or nonspecialist offenders.

These results suggest that, in contrast to subcultural theorists' speculations, youth entering these groups do not necessarily become socialized to criminal behavior upon inclusion, or invert norms when groups are formed, but rather it indicates that the inversion of conventional goals has taken place prior to entry and this process is supported by others who have also made similar adjustments.

The description of the street groups now complete, the discussion turns to the living circumstances of the respondents in the sample.

CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES

Past research has indicated that street youth vary in their current living circumstances. That is, the street youth population is made up of both youth who make their home on the street and those who have places to live but spend considerable time on the street. The present sample supports this finding. As shown in Table 5.4, 84 of the youth sampled reported having "no fixed address" at the time if the interview. Seventy other youth indicated that they had established independence from their guardians and were living on their own or with roommates. Seven of the youth sampled were living in group homes or foster homes. Only 39 of the youth sampled were living in their parents' home at the time of the interview and only fifteen had lived with their parents for all twelve months prior to the interview.

Table 5.5 demonstrates that the widespread estrangement from the parental home did not appear to be a recent phenomena. A full 61 % of the youth sampled (N=122) had been away from their parents for the full year prior to their interview. Another thirty four youth had been away between six and eleven months. For the entire sample, the average length of time apart from parents during the past year was 9 months.

TABLE 5.4
CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NO FIXED ADDRESS	84	42.0
MYSELF/ROOMATES	70	35.0
GROUP HOME	7	3.5
WITH PARENTS	39	19.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.5
MONTHS LIVING AWAY FROM PARENTS IN THE LAST YEAR

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
0	15	7.5
1	9	4.5
2	11	5.5
3	6	3.0
4	1	0.5
5	2	2.0
6	8	4.0
7	2	1.0
8	8	4.0
9	4	2.0
10	8	4.0
11	4	2.0
12	122	61.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

Those who had left their parents' home were at extreme risk of living on the street. A full three quarters of the sample had been with no fixed address or in a shelter during the last year (N=153). Those who had been homeless had spenton average almost five months (4.93) in total living on the street in the previous year.

A large number of the respondents were long term homeless. As seen in Table 5.6, 10% of the sample had no fixed address the entire twelve months. Another nineteen percent had been without shelter between 6 and 11 months. These 58 youth could be considered as either long term homeless, or chronically homeless in the sense that they were homeless on numerous occasions during the year. In addition to the considerable number of long term and/or chronic homeless, there was a great deal of short term homelessness in the sample. Forty respondents reported being homeless for one month during the year and another twenty five indicated they had been without a fixed address for two months.

TABLE 5.6
MONTHS LIVING IN A SHELTER/OR NFA IN THE LAST YEAR

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
0	47	23.5
1	40	20.0
2	25	12.5
3	5	2.5
4	15	7.5
5	10	5.0
6	15	7.5
7	6	3.0
8	4	2.0
9	1	0.5
10	6	3.0
11	6	3.0
12	20	10.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

These data suggest, as hypothesized in research question 1 H, that most of the youth are isolated from familial controls and are embedded within the severely deprived economic circumstances that might well lead to criminal activities to meet survival needs. Further, a large number of these youth appear to be unable or unwilling to escape these disadvantaged situations. The inability to escape the street suggests that there is some sort of barrier or attraction that negates efforts to leave the environment.

As speculated in research question 3 E, the greater the time on the street the greater the opportunity to come into contact with other criminally inclined street youth who can be enlisted as partners. As already outlined above, the youths do appear to enlist similar others as criminal partners. Thus, over time, being on the street facilitates criminal behavior by providing access to the human and social material that increases the successful undertaking of criminal activities.

However, spending a great deal of time on the street can also increase criminal opportunities in terms of attractive targets lacking guardianship which might serve to increase illicit behavior. It may also be the case, as hinted at in research question 3 H, that the extent of long term homeless within the sample offers some preliminary indication that the youth have become entrenched in a street lifestyle that intertwines criminal behavior with drug and alcohol use. The longer the time spent on the street, the more isolated from conventional society the youth become; the more remote from attachments to conventional others; the greater the segregation from stakes in conformity and involvement in accepted activities; and the greater the likelihood of diminished beliefs that lawbreaking is wrong; all of which serve to free the youth to engage in nonconformist behaviors. It will be for analysis later in the dissertation to determine the strength of this conjecture.

This brief review allows us to begin construction of a picture of the street youth population. The sample indicates variation in age, race and style that influences friendship cliques and interaction between the youths. The majority of the youth spending time on the street have long ago established independence from their parental home. Many of these youths have a history of homelessness and a large number of them are currently homeless. Anchoring this homeless subpopulation is a significant number of longterm and chronically homeless youths who never get off the street or who return to the street after briefs stints of having a residence.

This preliminary analysis suggests that these youth are at risk for criminal behavior for a number of reasons. Included in these arguments is the idea that many of these youth are isolated from the traditional conventional informal social controls that might deter them from offending. Instead, a number of these youth appear to be caught in severe circumstances that certainly could induce them to look for alternative illegal means to overcome their conditions. Further, the street appears to offer them the peer availability to successfully undertake such nonconventional activities and may serve to constrain their ability to leave the street by providing an environment where substance abuse and crime are central to a lifestyle.

The questions now become "how did these youth come to spend so much time on the street?" and "why do so few live at home despite their young age and apparent lack of resources?" To build on the foundation just constructed, the analysis now turns to an examination of the respondents' family backgrounds.

FAMILY CLASS BACKGROUND

The exploration of the respondents' family backgrounds will begin by examining their family class backgrounds. A

TABLE 5.7
FAMILY CLASS BACKGROUND

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
STATE ASSISTANCE	20	10.0
UNSKILLED	26	13.0
SEMI-SKILLED	39	19.5
SKILLED	42	21.0
FOREMAN/FOREWOMAN	4	2.0
SUPERVISOR	4	2.0
MIDDLE MANAGEMENT	5	2.5
TECHNICIAN	4	2.0
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	7	3.5
HIGH LEVEL MANAGEMENT	5	2.5
EMPLOYED PROFESSIONAL	19	9.5
SELF-EMPLOYED PROF	1	0.5
BUSINESS OWNER	20	10.0
DK/NR	4	2.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

family class variable constructed by taking the highest status job that appeared for each family regardless of gender revealed that respondents tended to come from "blue collar/pink collar" working class backgrounds. The classification in Table 5.7 showed there were 20 households (10%) where the top ranked employment status was long term state assistance (welfare or compensation). The top ranked employment status in twenty six other households (13%) was classified as unskilled manual, clerical or sales work. In 39 households (19.5%) semi-skilled work provided the highest status and another 42 homes (21%) were represented by skilled employment. By this classification 127 of the youths (62.5%) came from families where the highest occupational status was blue collar, pink collar, nonsupervisory-type employment.

Yet there were also a number of upper status families represented in the sample. For example, 20 respondents (10%) came from families where a business was owned. Another 19 (9.5%) came from families where the highest occupation was an employed professional. Thus, while the sample is skewed towards lower status occupations, there are a number of youth from upper status backgrounds represented as well.

Many of the top ranked guardians in these households had histories of unemployment. Ninety-one respondents (45.5%) indicated that the top rank parent/guardian had been unemployed at least once when they were living at home. Thus, almost half of the sample had some experience with unemployment in their household of origin.
This implies that many of the respondents have been exposed to the harsh realities of the labour market prior to their own entry. As speculated in research question 1E, this vicarious experience may serve to lessen their commitment to the labour market leaving them more at risk for criminal behavior.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

What immediately stands out in Table 5.8 is that under 25% (N=49) of the sample last lived, or currently lived, with both of their natural parents. Thus, many of the respondents came from homes that had been fractured. Some of these homes had been restructured so that two guardians were present.
Sixty-seven respondents reported that they last lived in some sort of natural parent/stepparent combination. This entailed either a father/stepmother (girlfriend) household or a mother/stepfather (boyfriend) household. Fourteen others lived in double guardian households where neither guardian was a natural parent. This usually entailed living in a foster home or with relatives. Seventy of the youths last lived with single guardians. Fourteen respondents indicated that they lived with their father alone. Forty-nine reported last living alone with their mother. An additional seven youths lived with some other single guardian.

These numbers suggest that household type might influence the types of social control present within the home. Past research in delinquency has chronicled the role the family plays in inhibiting delinquency. In particular, the literature points to the importance of various types of relationships within the family. Social Control theorists argue that strong ties within the family are vital in the development of the social bond. If children are close to their parents and there is a congenial home atmosphere, then family relationships should act as a deterrent to delinquency. Children in such families become concerned about what their parents think of them and as a result should be less likely to become involved in delinquency. This is often referred to as relational control (Hagan, 1989).

TABLE 5.8
PARENTS LAST LIVED WITH

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
BOTH NATURAL PARENTS	49	24.5
FATHER/STEPMOTHER	22	11.0
MOTHER/STEPFATHER	45	22.5
TWO GUARDIANS	14	7.0
FATHER ALONE	14	7.0
MOTHER ALONE	49	24.5
SINGLE GUARDIAN	7	3.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

A second type of relationship often touched on by control theorists is instrumental control. Here the idea is that parents who adequately supervise their children, by knowing what they are doing and who they are with, can recognize potentially unsuitable situations and isolate the child from trouble. Parents who engage in ineffective monitoring practises are unable to identify and sanction delinquent and antisocial behavior or control their child's associations with delinquent peers (Hagan, 1989). Together, the more relational and instrumental control a child experiences the less likely he will engage in delinquency.

Many of the youth in our sample come from circumstances where only one guardian is present, a condition which might serve to minimize instrumental control. The presence of only one guardian makes supervision more difficult, leaving the child free to travel to undesirable areas and interact with potentially objectionable peers. Further, the presence of nonbiological guardians in many of the homes may generate conflict between the said guardian and the child which in turn inhibits and damages the development of relational control. Thus, both restructured and broken families provide the potential for disrupted social control. It is to a more complete exploration of instrumental and relational controls that the analysis now turns.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The closed-ended responses from the interview suggest that many of the youth in the sample came from homes where

TABLE 5.9
INSTRUMENTAL CONTROL

	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NEVER	35	17.5
RARELY	76	38.0
SOMETIMES	53	26.5
USUALLY	25	12.5
ALWAYS	11	5.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.10
RELATIONAL CONTROL

	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NEVER	31	15.5
RARELY	76	38.0
SOMETIMES	69	34.5
USUALLY	22	11.0
ALWAYS	2	1.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

there was little instrumental control. First, 55% (n=110) of the respondents noted that their parents never, or at the most rarely, knew where they were when they were out, and rarely, if ever knew who they were with during these times. Only 37 respondents (17.5%) indicated that their parents usually or always knew where they were and who they were with when they were out. This indifference to supervision certainly indicates a lack of instrumental control within the respondents' families (see Table 5.9).

These results are echoed in the responses concerning the type of relational control the respondents had in their backgrounds. Forced choice responses summarized in Table 5.10 suggested that guardians had little communication with, and offered infrequent understanding and support to, the respondents. Only 24 sample respondents (12 %) gave the impression they had a clearly positive relationship with their parents. More common were the 107 youths (53.5%) who told the interviewer that they never or rarely talked with, spent time with, or got support from their guardians and would not like to be the kind of person their parent was. Together, the responses provided the impression that supervision was weak or nonexistent in the respondents' homes and that the parent/child attachments were tenuous.

These impressions were substantiated by the youths' open-ended responses to questions concerning their relationships with their parents. The small minority (12%) who offered positive portrayalsof their family described parents who communicated and spent quality time with them. The child described feeling comfortable in the relationship and relished the favourable dividends available to them within the parent/child relationship. There was a sense that the parent "was there" for the child and offered support, advice and companionship. The youth particularly appreciated being able to share their feelings without fear of being reprimanded. They enjoyed that their inner thoughts were seriously contemplated in response to requested parental counsel. They liked that their parents cared for, and took the time to hear, what they had to say.

> **We were pretty good. We would be like friends go fishing or to football games or whatever (023).**
>
> **We're just like good friends. We talk about our feelings (111).**
>
> **I can always talk to her about my problems, but she always gives me good advice (155).**
>
> **It was good. She was there for me. Sheltered me every way she could. She was a saint (045).**
>
> **We get along. Talk about things. If I had a problem once and a while she'd talk about it with me (022).**
>
> **My mom I share my thoughts with her all the time. She never yells at me she just gives me support (177).**
>
> **Get along fine. She doesn't judge me and she gives me responsibility she feels I deserve and she's taught me respect (047).**

In contrast, those who reported more negative home environments were quick to describe conditions where they spent little time with their parents. A few of the respondents compared their relationship with their parents to that of a landlord and a tenant where the two parties essentially led separate lives. This type of association made it difficult for the child to form any type of strong positive relationship because the availability of the parent for consultation was absent. The child was isolated from a potential source of support and advice and was forced to search elsewhere for these resources.

> **Didn't really do much. He didn't really do anything with myself or my brother. He didn't have the time(003)**
>
> **We never really did anything together. We didn't really talk that much (023).**
>
> **Its basically a tenant relationship (169).**
>
> **When I'm there I live under his house. That's it. A place to crash (120).**

Some respondents offered a related aspect of neglect. They described situations where parents failed to monitor their daily routine and had little interest in their activities. The parents did not demand or request information and the youths did not feel compelled to keep them apprised of their lives. The dearth of concern and supervision allowed the child to do as he wished. The lack of instrumental control freed the child from a source of direction that might help guide or influence his behavior.

> **Pretty much go home when I want and do what I want (171).**
>
> **I was basically on my own. Did what I wanted when I wanted to (138).**
>
> **Its kind of I do what I want. Stay out of his business and he stays out of my business (192).**
>
> **The whole family influence was everyone goes their own way. The house was just some place to sleep (098).**

Many of the youth who reported negative home environments focused on the lack of communication they had with their parents. They related environments where interaction between the parties was sporadic. Some indicated that the relationships were shallow at best, nonexistent at worst. There were a few youths who acknowledged having a startling minimal amount of interaction with their parents. A number of respondents admitted to not "knowing" their parent(s) despite living with them for a number of years. Not surprisingly, several of the youth in these types of circumstances confessed to having some problems getting along with their parents. This strife diluted the opportunity for the formation of a positive link between the parent and child. The fragile relationships did nothing to encourage the youth to request counsel. Uncomfortable approaching the parent for support, the child knew the parent was ill prepared and unwilling to provide positive feedback. Conversation would inevitably break down into conflict, providing the youth with the message that the parent did not understand, care, or wish to help.

> I don't know him very well. I think I've talked to him maybe 30 times in my life. He's a little fucked in the head (021).
>
> Well we rarely ever talked. I never really knew my dad that good (039).
>
> I talked to him maybe once every few months. Too old for me to understand him (131).
>
> Very distant. We don't communicate and I very rarely see him (163).
>
> Never had one. Barely ever talked with him. Every decision I ever made I made with my mother. I never really talked to him (070).
>
> They weren't great. Unstable basically. Just didn't get along. No communication (108).
>
> Dull. Didn't want to talk. Didn't get along at all. Didn't agree on anything (050).
>
> Poorly. Never got along. Never really talked to him either (068).
>
> It was strained and distant. That's about the best I can describe it I guess. It was really messed up. Just ignorance of each other I guess. No communication (061).
>
> We don't communicate. We really don't like each other at all (164).

An indication of how serious and damaging this conflict was to the relationship between the parent and the child was the hatred and anger respondents expressed towards their guardians through foul language and derogatory names. The conflict, the lack of positive communication, the lack of understanding between the parties had become so extreme that little positive reaction could be salvaged from many of the youths' responses.

> **Totally hate each other. Fucking we don't have a relationship. When I phone there he doesn't say anything he just hands it to my mom (103).**
>
> **We basically hate each other. Cause he was an asshole basically (148).**
>
> **Hate. Hate, anger. Killing him would have been too easy. I wanted to torture him and let him bleed it out (049).**
>
> **My father is a dickhead and I hate his guts. I use him for what I can get out of him (109).**
>
> **We hate each other. I have no use for her and she has no use for me (092).**
>
> **Fucking bitch man. I fucking hate her man. I can't stand her. My mom's got to be the worst fucking mom (147).**
>
> **Hate the bitch. My mom hated me because I remind her of my father who is in jail for life for a couple murders he committed (033).**

Related to the conflict were the environments wrought with tension. Many youth responded with similar one word answers including "edgy" and "tense." Most of the youths blamed their guardians for creating an environment where they were afraid to speak or act. Some recounted how they felt scapegoated, "blamed for everything," and "unable to do anything right." A few related how this atmosphere had damaged their self-worth. Again there was little evidence of attempts to foster strong positive relationships necessary for the development of relational control.

> **Like everything I do is wrong. Like anything small he'd blow. He'd get really pissed off. Like anything he gets mad (181).**
>
> **Anytime I'd come home there's serious problems. Even just**

> to have something to eat. She'd freak out big time. Not good memories at all (014).
>
> With my mother around ugly. None of my family wanted my mother home. She destructed everyone in my family. My sisters are running around feeling inferior. They have that mark on them (067).
>
> Yeah my dad's got an incredible temper. And we avoid each other at all costs whatever it takes. If I say hi it starts an argument. He is one fucking scary guy.(120).
>
> My mom was a bitch. She just blamed me for everything cause I'm the oldest. She still blames me and I don't even live there (137).
>
> I wasn't really there much but I always get the bad end of the stick. The worst of everything and my stepmother hated me (025).

Yet despite these depictions, some of the youths blamed themselves for their problems in the home. In particular they saw their criminal behavior and increasing drug and alcohol use as leading to friction between themselves and their parents. In these cases the parents were exonerated of blame and their reactions to the child's behavior understood. However, it is likely the case that parental friction, lack of attachment, and insufficient supervision were influential in the youths' initial deviant behavior. In turn, this behavior served to increase friction and further lessen the bonds between the parent and the child.

> I was the problem at home. I was the problem because I never got my way. I did things I wasn't supposed to do. Breaking in cars. Steal. Lost all their trust (063).
>
> I guess when I started doing crime and not coming home, that's when they started getting mad. I couldn't put up with it anymore so I left (116).
>
> Usually when I was sober it was ok. When I was stoned or drunk there were problems. I was always drunk so there were problems (046).
>
> They were good for awhile. Then I got into dope and boom. Got tired of living with them. Couldn't handle my blow habit (060).
>
> I was smoking a lot of dope. I preferred to smoke dope than live at home (073).

TABLE 5.11
VIEWED PARENTS DRUNK

	FATHER		MOTHER	
	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NEVER	64	43.8	108	58.7
RARELY	12	8.2	21	11.4
SOMETIMES	28	19.2	29	15.8
USUALLY	24	16.4	18	9.8
ALWAYS	18	12.3	8	4.3
NA	54	MISSING	16	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

TABLE 5.12
VIEWED PARENTS USE DRUGS

	FATHER		MOTHER	
	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NEVER	99	67.8	140	76.1
RARELY	14	9.6	10	5.4
SOMETIMES	16	11.0	17	9.2
USUALLY	3	2.1	8	4.3
ALWAYS	14	9.6	9	4.9
NA	54	MISSING	16	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

While some respondents were willing to admit their part in the conflict, many others pointed to other serious problems within their families. First, there appeared to be a great deal of substance abuse in the homelife of the respondents. As seen in Table 5.11 48% percent of the male guardians were reported to have been drunk in front of the respondent on a number of occasions. Another 22% were reported to have, in numerous instances, used drugs in front of the respondent. Female guardians were not immune to such abuses. Thirty percent of the female guardians had been drunk frequently and 18% used drugs in front of the child frequently.

Again the open ended responses provide us with some insight into the seriousness of the parental substance abuse. In many cases there was a link between this substance abuse and the lack of supervision, affection, interest and support within these families. The parents' preoccupation with their own needs led to a disinterest or an inability to engage in instrumental control. Parents who were either out of the home engaging in certain excesses, or in the home under the influence of some substance, were disqualified from overseeing their children's lives. Furthermore, parents' behaviors while under the influence of drugs or alcohol were abrasive enough to lead to conflicts with the child. In some cases the child resented the fact that these abuses took precedence over the provision of necessities in the home. In other cases the respondent was bitingly hostile over the parent's inability to care for him. Here there was an appreciation that the parents' addictions took priority over concern, help and encouragement for the child.

> **Just alcohol and drug problems. She can't take care of herself, so how can she take care of us (024).**
>
> **Just basically my mom's drinking. She'd always spend her money on booze and drugs. So there was never any food just blow. And she was never home so I had no way to get in cause I never had keys (069).**
>
> **My mom was drinking too much. She's an alcoholic. Not responsible (183).**
>
> **Poor, very poor. Cause we never got along and she was never there when I needed her and when she was she was blitzed (082).**
>
> **Always problems when she went out drinking. It was pretty well only when she went out drinking there was problems (013).**

TABLE 5.13
PARENTAL USE OF DISCIPLINE AND INTENTIONAL PUNISHMENT TO CAUSE A BRUISE OR BLEEDING

	USE PHYSICAL DISCIPLINE		CAUSE BRUISE/BLEEDING	
	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NEVER	31	15.5	89	44.5
RARELY	39	19.5	32	16.0
SOMETIMES	64	32.0	38	19.0
USUALLY	34	17.0	20	10.0
ALWAYS	32	16.0	21	10.5
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

TABLE 5.14
EXPERIENCE OF MINOR OR SERIOUS SEXUAL ABUSE

	MINOR SEXUAL ABUSE		SERIOUS SEXUAL ABUSE	
	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NEVER	159	79.5	179	89.5
ONCE	27	13.5	12	6.0
SEVERAL TIMES	10	5.0	5	2.5
FREQUENTLY LONG TIME	4	2.0	4	2.0
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

> **I don't waste my fucking time with chronic alcoholics and dope heads. Smokes a quarter ounce a day. He has asbestos infection in his lungs so he wants to be drunk when he dies (055).**
>
> **He started drinking again after 13 years. We get a call every night to go pick him up. He was basically an asshole (086).**
>
> **I guess the main thing was my dad's drinking problem led to a lot of bullshit in the family. It got to the point where I just couldn't handle it anymore (041).**

Additional evidence of negative home environments can be found in the high number of respondents who reported physical and sexual abuse. As can be seen from Table 5.13, 65% of the sample (n=130) reported that their parents or guardians regularly utilized physical discipline. Almost 40% (N=79) reported they had been repeatedly intentionally stuck by parents to cause a bruise or bleeding. Forty one respondents (20.5%) revealed that they had been the victims of minor sexual abuse, such as unwanted fondling, at least once. Twenty-one (10.5%) indicated more serious forms of sexual victimization involving some form of intercourse (see Table 5.14).

Most respondents provided graphic depictions of their violent homelife. These episodes were not the accident of a parent who "inadvertently" uses too much force physically disciplining the child. The events were serial, extremely intense, and displayed a savageness that could only serve to physically damage the child.This behavior almost certainly harmed the formation of any bonds based on trust, positive communication, and identification.

> **At my real parents place, they were abusive. They never reasoned with me at all. I was always usually scared of them whenever I went home (074).**
>
> **Yes there were problems. If we got along it was a shot in the mouth and a good boot fuck (092)**
>
> **My mom stabbed me. Didn't want any involvement to do with me basically (043).**
>
> **There were lots of beating always. I remember a lot of beating, parties. Lock my room at night so I couldn't get out (053).**
>
> **We were what you'd call the punching bags of the family.**

> They'd have competitions on who could hit you the hardest. That's why I left home (065).
>
> Basically my stepdad threw us out everyday for 3 hours. We wondered about it. So we found out he was sexually abusing my sister. He found out and started kicking the shit out of me everyday. So my mom signed me up for kickboxing (070).
>
> Abuse. Half blind, half deaf. Teflon thumb and knee and a metal plate in my head (149).
>
> When I went back home last time I said don't punch me out again. One day he wanted to take me outside. Gave me a black eye. I said fuck this I'm out of here (089)
>
> Me, my brother, my sister were always getting beat up. There was verbal abuse, physical abuse. Everything (077).

Many of the respondents reported an interaction between drugs, alcohol and violence in their homes, especially for their male guardians. Many of the problems and conflicts the youths alluded to in their responses concerning parental substance abuse were of this very serious nature. Many of the respondents were able to predict the outbursts of their guardians based on their parent's state of intoxication. Most of the youths implied that in these circumstances little provocation preceded the events. The violence was unsolicited, the child the unfortunate target for being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

> Volatile, explosive. Like when he was sober it was ok. When he was drunk it usually ended up in a fist fight (041).
>
> My stepfather was a fucking alcoholic. Whenever the slightest thing went wrong I got fucking beat (055).
>
> Just the drinking and stuff my dad did. He was real mean when he was drunk and he started abusing me and my sister. And I fight him sometimes. So it really wasn't that good (030).
>
> My dad got drunk and went at me one too many times I guess (041).
>
> Most of the time it was alright unless my dad was drinking. He was pretty violent (078).

> **My dad got home from work. He'd get drunk and beat the snot out of me (088).**

In addition to the conflict and violence directed towards the youths, there was also evidence of a great deal of conflict within the home between parents or guardians. Respondents disclosed that many of their parents were in constant verbal and physical battles. The house often became a war zone with various pieces of the household becoming artillery. These altercations did nothing to add to the youth's sense of ease and belonging in the home. Some youth suggested that they avoided this aversive environment for fear of being caught between the lines or becoming the next target for either side. And like the violence directed towards the children, the use of drugs and alcohol was prominent in the parental conflicts.

> **Pretty violent. Lot of fighting and arguing. Lot of commotion. A lot of stuff got broken around the house (038).**
>
> **My parents would always be fighting. Fighting like practically everyday (022).**
>
> **Its off balance. Its more or less I'm always in the middle between my mother and my father. I'm not that fond of my family (051).**
>
> **Pretty chaotic. Fights all the time. I'd come home all the time to smashed windows and shit. (75).**
>
> **He was a violent man. Beat my mom, the kids, he was real violent (166).**
>
> **Mom and Dad arguing all the time because they would be under the influence (098).**
>
> **My mom and dad drinking and arguing all the time (039).**

This review provides us with a portrait of neglect, conflict, violence and substance abuse in many of the respondents' families. In many cases there was little instrumental control within the youths' families. Some parents had little interest in their children and their activities. Others were preoccupied with their own disabilities and were unable to provide substantial supervision to their children. Furthermore, the atmospheres described in the homes appear to be substantially negative. There was little communication between child and parent. The communication that did take place was adversarial as the parent was unable or unwilling to empathize with the child. Other situations emerge where the child's behaviors instigated or inflamed problematic relationships. A large minority of children lived in homes where there was a substantial amount of substance abuse which appeared to be strongly correlated with neglect and physical abuse. A large number of youth were victims of violence and a small but significant number were victims of sexual abuse. The lack of communication, the conflict, the violence, the sexual abuse, the substance abuse all served to inhibit the parent/child attachment. Lacking this bond, parents had little basis from which to exact relational control. The fear, anger and hatred many of the youths felt for their parents interfered, retarded and many times disallowed any parental attachment. With the lack of instrumental and relational control and the presence of coercive control in many of the respondents' families it would come as no surprise that, as predicted in research questions 1A and 1B, these youth were spending a great deal of time on the street and perhaps engaging in a number of criminal activities.

It certainly appears that these conditions influenced the respondents to leave home. When queried as to why they had left, many of the respondents offered similar images to those they provided to describe their family environments. A number of the respondents reported that they had fled because of the serial physical abuse they had suffered. A threshold had finally been reached whereby the youths could not and would not tolerate the violence. In these cases the youths found that living in a shelter, or on the street, was a more positive option, and perhaps safer environment, than continuing to live with their abusive parent(s).

Others chose to leave home because of their parents' substance abuse problems. In many of these situations the parent was unable to provide properly for the child. The child was forced to look outside of the home for necessities. Further, the interaction between drugs/alcohol and violence and other forms of conflict certainly contributed to the youths' decision to leave home.

The conflict between child and parent accounted for a large number of youth leaving their homes. Over a quarter of the sample gave this reason for leaving home. The inability of the parent and child to get along led to the child withdrawing or avoiding the conflict through leaving home. In a number of these cases it was the parent who decided to end the confrontation, not through withdrawal, but rather through expelling the youth from the home. Thirty-two respondents indicated that they had been "kicked out" of their home by their parent(s). These youths were forced from their homes, into a shelter or onto the street, by a parent or parents who would no longer allow them to live in their home.

Many times, however, there were indications that respondents felt themselves responsible for their expulsion because of criminal activities, and/or drug and alcohol abuse. Alternatively, many of the youths recognized the friction their behavior created and voluntarily withdrew from the home so as to continue their behavior and avoid reaction.

Finally, some respondents replied that they chose to leave for what might be described as life transitional reasons. Some of these include wanting a change, establishing independence, gaining employment, and moving in with girlfriends.

Thus, for a large segment of the sample, the serious negative circumstances within the home described earlier forced the child to leave. For a smaller segment, the choice was theirs. They left for more traditional reasons. For others, already caught up in the web of an alternative lifestyle, the choice was to leave and become further implanted in streetlife.

In our construction we have completed yet another section of our foundation. But the family is only one aspect of the respondents' backgrounds that might influence their behaviors. A yet unfinished segment to be explored in our examination is the school background of these youth. It is to the sample's educational histories that the analysis now shifts.

SCHOOL BACKGROUND

A review of the respondents' school histories is important for a number of reasons. First, like the family, the school is of primary importance in the socialization of young people. In fact, it might be argued that the school is a pervasive influence in young people's lives since for most of the year children spend a large portion of the day in its activities. Social control theorists suggest that those who have an attachment and commitment to school will be less likely to engage in delinquency. This attachment and commitment is demonstrated by students' willingness to do homework, get along with teachers, and avoid skipping. Second, the school can be seen to have an impact on an individual's social and economic position. Educational qualifications are the basis for entry into most occupations. The level of accreditation will certainly influence members' ability to gain employment and might affect the type of jobs obtainable. Thus, a child's experiences in the school can be interpreted to have a profound impact on the child's future life opportunities.

The respondents' school backgrounds reveal a history of school problems. Table 5.15 reveals that only 20 of the 200 youth sampled had completed high school. The average grade completed by the sample was 9.50. A number of youths had achieved only a modest level of education. Twenty percent of the sample (n=40) had an education of grade eight or less. As suggested in research question 1 F this incomplete education

TABLE 5.15
LAST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

GRADE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
5	1	.5
6	6	3.0
7	11	5.5
8	22	11.0
9	58	29.0
10	53	26.5
11	29	14.5
12	20	10.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

would certainly inhibit these youths' prospects to obtain even the most menial of employment, leaving them at risk for criminal behavior in the absence of legal employment.

COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL

The prominence of the incomplete educations suggests that the respondents experienced a number of difficulties in the school setting. An inspection of the respondents' school behavior indicates insignificant attachment and commitment to the institution. A review of the respondents' grades in Table 5.16 reveals that most had limited success in school. Fifty-five of the 200 youths (27%) sampled indicated that their average grades in their last year of school attended were 50% or below. An additional 68 (34%) reported they scored average grades of around 60%.

The data reveal that those most likely to suffer from poor grade achievement were those registered in vocational and mixed academic/vocational programs. The respondents registered in pure academic programs were more likely to achieve higher grades than their peers. We might speculate that youth who fail to bloom academically may be streamed into alternative programs isolating them from the more successful. Further, those students whose behavior is deemed problematic by educators and administrators may also find themselves pushed

TABLE 5.16
AVE. GRADES LAST YEAR OF SCHOOL

	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
MAINLY A'S 80%	28	14.1
MAINLY B'S 70%	48	24.1
MAINLY C'S 60%	68	34.2
MAINLY D'S 50%	34	17.1
MAINLY F'S UNDER 50%	21	10.6
DK/NR	1	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.17
TYPES OF COURSES IN SCHOOL

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
ACADEMIC	91	45.5
VOCATIONAL	31	15.5
VOCATIONAL/ACADEMIC	78	39.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.18
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
REGULAR	30	15.0
FAIRLY REGULAR	69	34.5
SOMEWHAT IRREGULAR	25	12.5
VERY IRREGULAR	76	38.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.19
HOW OFTEN DID YOU DO HOMEWORK?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	97	46.5
RARELY	37	18.5
SOMETIMES	41	20.5
USUALLY	14	7.0
ALWAYS	11	5.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.20
HOW OFTEN DID YOU HAVE TROUBLE WITH TEACHERS?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	20	10.0
RARELY	23	11.5
SOMETIMES	67	33.5
USUALLY	37	18.5
ALWAYS	53	26.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

into these nonacademic programs. This process of segregation and isolation may serve notice to both the student and his peers that he is a failure. The cuing of failure in turn serves to negate the relevance of school and weakens a vital bond that buffers the child from delinquent behavior.

The majority of the youth demonstrate a lack of attachment and commitment to school through truancy, trouble, and undone homework. Research question 1 F speculates that these weakened bonds might be linked to spending time on the street and engaging in criminal behavior. Table 5.18 reveals that half of the sample (n=101) attended school on an irregular basis at best. The most popular explanation for truancy amongst the regularly absent: drug and alcohol use. Fifty seven of the youth mentioned that they skipped school to get drunk, stoned or "to party." Leaving school to be with friends was another favourite response, as was cutting classes for "better things to do." Others declined to attend to avoid the various aspects of school they disliked. Alternatively, those who rarely skipped feared detection or found school to be a positive environment.

Consistent with the school problems already discussed, Table 5.19 displays that the majority of the sample rarely did homework. Sixty-seven percent of the sample (n=134) claimed to never or rarely do any homework. Similarly, over 78% the sample (n=157) described having trouble with their teachers on a "more than once in awhile" basis (see Table 5.20). Just under half (45%) suggested that they usually or always had trouble with their teachers while they were attending school.

The picture drawn above is of a group of young people who have little attachment and commitment to school. They fail to achieve high grades, are often truant, rarely do homework, and are in constant conflict with school authority figures. Thus, as speculated in research question 1 F, these youth are prime candidates for criminal behavior. An examination of the respondents explanations for leaving school do little to sway this speculation but do provide us with some interesting insights.

The open-ended responses reveal that a combination of misbehavior, substance abuse, family problems, job opportunities, and school failure account for respondents' bases for abandoning their education. The answers make plain that a large number of the youths involuntarily left school after expulsion restricted reentry into the system. In short, their educational futures were halted by histories of misbehavior. Expulsion was not an uncommon experience in the sample. Eighty four percent (n=168) of the sample had been expelled or suspended from school at least once. Some of the more popular incidents included respondents being banished for striking a teacher or a principal, fighting, drinking and/or drugs, theft and truancy. Other reasons explicated included arson, bomb threats, and less serious offenses such as tardiness and mischief. The responses demonstrate a great deal of antisocial and criminal behavior but reveal little commitment to school or attachment to its personnel.

> **Punching the shit out of the principal. Cocksucker pissed me off (147).**
>
> **Beating the shit out of the principal in his office. He called me a disgusting puke. I was ripped so I jumped over the desk and started strangling him with his tie (033).**
>
> **Smoking drugs, I wore a cat's skull together. Fighting. Causing disruptions in class. Stuff like that (026).**
>
> **Doing drugs and stuff. Caught doing drugs (038).**
>
> **Fighting and being drunk at school (167).**
>
> **Everything. Fighting, drugs, weapons, alcohol (43).**
>
> **Locker theft, fights with teachers, fights with other people (174).**

Other youths admitted to clashes with authorities that induced them to withdraw from school voluntarily. The respondents appeared to tire of the constant conflict and the lack of progress. They had determined that a retreat from the environment would end the strife and make their lives more tolerable. There was little interest in obtaining an education, only a concern with avoiding the sanctions and conflict their behavior provoked.

> **Cause it was just not happening. It was just trouble all over school. Trouble with teachers etc. (085).**
>
> **I had a lot of arguments with teachers and stuff. Had a lot of fights with classmates. I was getting heavily into drugs and stuff and I was having a hard time concentrating and stuff (038).**
>
> **I was stoned lots and never really learned anything. Started throwing stuff at the teachers fooling around and stuff (039).**
>
> **Lots of trouble. Didn't get along with teachers and stuff. Drugs and fighting during school (194).**
>
> **I was just getting into trouble with the teachers and cops and stuff (191).**

Some respondents reported that they had left school to pursue employment opportunities or left to "make money," which may have included criminal activities. The economic rewards outside of an environment they found stifling, tedious and without dividends contributed to their decision. However, a number of these youths were forced from school into the work force by their family circumstances. Many respondents indicated that they were living on their own without alternative means by which to support themselves. Thus, for some of the respondents, the choice of work over school was one of survival rather than one of the greater perceived rewards of work.

> **There was more money to be made working. Better use of my time as it were(056).**
>
> **Thought I'd be smarter to go to work (100)**
>
> **I had to I was living on my own. Or surviving on my own (093).**
>
> **I was out of my house. I needed to work fulltime (186).**
>
> **Couldn't quit my job or I wouldn't have anywhere to live (014).**

> **I couldn't take the pressure at home and go to school at the same time so I quit school and went to work (103).**
>
> **Couldn't afford. I had to work full time in order too live. I wasn't at home (124).**

Eighteen respondents had been compelled to leave school by their homelessness. These youth described the difficulties they encountered attempting to keep up their education while living on the street. As the above responses illustrated, these respondents' choices were constrained by the severe conditions within which they found themselves. Four other youths living on the street testified that their decision to abandon school represented a resolution to avoid being caught on the run rather than an inability to balance life on the street with education. These youth's resolve made education superfluous. The desire to avoid being located and returned to their negative environments were the central factors in their decision.

> **Cause I just have no place to live so I can't go to school. Can't attend school without a supportable environment (024).**
>
> **Couldn't go to school. Lived on the streets. The only time I didn't skip school was when I was in prison you had to go (065).**
>
> **I was living on the streets and you can't go to school and be living on the streets at the same time (138).**
>
> **Just so my mom couldn't find me (165).**
>
> **Since I ran away from home I thought my aunt might look for me at school. She has no idea where I am (180).**

Twenty-one respondents blamed their drug and/or alcohol use for their inability to maintain school attendance. These respondents communicated that the attraction of these substances was greater than any offered in school. They were more interested in getting drunk or stoned than sitting in a classroom.

> **Too much into partying. I was more into drinking and smoking dope (149).**
>
> **Quit for beer, for alcohol (005).**

> **I was into alcohol a lot when I was in grade 12 (050).**
>
> **It wasn't because school was hard. I'd just rather be out getting high or drunk at the time (055).**
>
> **Usually because of drugs and alcohol and the kind of people I was hanging around with (084).**

Many youth terminated their student role over a plethora of reasons surrounding their dislike of, or inability to succeed in, school. For some the decision to leave saved them from the impending reality of failure. Their withdrawal saved them from embarrassment and ended an effort they believed futile. Many times these decisions were made in light of past failures.

> **Just felt I couldn't keep up (192).**
>
> **I was doing bad in school. They told me I was going to fail so I said why should I go to school if I'm going to fail (181).**
>
> **Cause I got too old. I was 18 and still doing the 4 year plan in grade 12 (036).**
>
> **After 3 years of grade 11 I decided to drop out. I got 3 courses all in first year. 2 were electives. Plus I needed to work (012).**
>
> **Just had trouble concentrating, learning, not getting much help. Always failing grades so it wasn't worth it. I mean what's the use if you're always getting D's.**

There were also complaints concerning the quality of their educators and of the curriculum. Some were upset by the low standards and slow pace of the system. Many respondents felt that school was "boring." They lobbied that school offered little to attract students interest, attention and fascination. The inability to snare students' curiosity led to apathy, aversion, and truancy. The result was that students looked for, and were provided, other activities that were more rewarding to them than staying in the antipathetic school environment.

> **Boring, uneventful. There was no challenge. Do you stick with something that was no challenge (055).**

> **Its hard to stay in school cause they don't make the classes to interesting. They don't make an interest. You lose interest too easily (131).**
>
> **Just wasn't doing anything for me. It wasn't intellectually stimulating to me (052).**
>
> **Because they weren't teaching me anything (034).**
>
> **Just wasn't doing anything for me. It wasn't stimulating to me. I thought it was best to get out of that scenario and gather my wits (051).**

The picture above is of a group of young people who have abandoned their education. Yet their decisions are understandable. They have little attachment and commitment to school. They fail to achieve high grades, they rarely do homework, and they are in constant conflict with school authorities. They are forced to spend their days in environments they find uninteresting, irrelevant, oppressive, humiliating and degrading. Instead of finding an environment they might look forward to entering on a daily basis, especially in comparison to their home environments, they face conditions that are dissimilarly unfavourable. The end result is a desertion of the education system.

Yet these youth may be the most vulnerable to the negative aspects of the school. Most youths enter the same environment and do not suffer the same failures, experience the same miseries, and encounter the same difficulties. The difference is that the youth under study enter the system wrought with disadvantages. Their relationships with guardians are characterized by neglect, conflict, and violence. There is little encouragement, counsel or recommendation to succeed in school. Absent is the stimulation and inspiration from parents to do well, except perhaps in the forms of threats and beatings, and trivial advisement on how to accomplish success. Furthermore, the lack of supervision means parents fail to give proper attention to the undone homework, ignore the truancy, and disregard the poor grades. Unable to overcome their shortcomings, the paucity of nurturance, stimulation and supervision that increase the probability of success, these youth are faced with standards they cannot accomplish.

This same lack of instrumental and relational control leads youth to deviant activities that further incapacitates their chances of success in school. Their behavior and lack of accomplishment make them the targets of school authorities who attempt to both punish and isolate them from the rest of the student population. Simultaneously they are being forced from their homes by their negative family relationships. The various stages of this process can be seen in the responses:

the disinterest in school, the misbehavior, the expulsions and the leaving home.

Overall, the youth's backgrounds contribute to their experiences in the school. Their life circumstances determine their options. It influences their misbehavior that leads to expulsion. It necessitates the employment and homelessness that aborts education. It increases the irrelevance and unpleasantness of school, and makes alternatives to school more attractive. Thus, the lack of instrumental and relational control, and the presence of coercive control lead to a tenuous commitment to school. In turn, it is the absence of school commitment along with the direct effects of the familial controls that increases the youths' risks of criminal participation. All of this speculation offers support to research questions 1 A, 1 B and 1 F.

REFLECTIONS ON LEAVING SCHOOL

While it is apparent that the youths had little commitment to school during their past tenures, the passage of time led to reflection which gave way to admissions of misconceived decisions. A smattering of the sample were certain that abandoning school was the appropriate decision. Some of these respondents argued that they were able to obtain employment, and make financial gains, without completing their education. They had discerned that rather than preparing them for a better future, school was a hinderance that served to restrain them in the ultimate goals of employment and pay.

> **Because I'm working making money instead of sitting on my butt doing....(012).**
>
> **Because I make more money. I make 17.60 an hour and do what I want (040).**

For a few others there was the impression that school served to isolate students from the harsh realities of life after graduation. These respondents suggested that school was incapable of preparing students for the "real world." They viewed their decision to withdraw as an advantage. They had seized the opportunity to participate, experience and capture wisdom outside of the school's protective environment.

> **Makes you see what's in the real world. Gets you ready (021).**
>
> **I think I got more life experience than somebody who goes to school (042).**

> **It's helped me see a lot of the world. Perceptions of the world. How I can apply this to the courses and how they apply to the real world. I'm understanding why (051).**
>
> **Cause you learn a lot more working. Plus you tend to mature a lot older, a lot quicker living on the street and that (110).**

Alternatively, the majority of those who regretted not finishing their education pointed to the lack of future employment and financial prospects as the most damaging effect of their decision. Many indicated that they had already experienced difficulties in obtaining employment because of their incomplete education. Others argued that their limited education restricted their access to better paying and quality jobs.

> **Because I'll probably be getting on welfare and that and it will be hard to get a job without a diploma and I'll probably be living in a cardboard box in an alley or in some dump (144).**
>
> **I had a lot of hassles with it. Everybody wants your diploma. Everybody (149).**
>
> **Cause I can't get nowhere right now. Not with that grade (9). Can't get a job (013).**
>
> **Can't get a job. Pretty sad when people ask you what grade you've finished and you say grade 10 (023).**
>
> **It made other careers less accessible for me. Biggest mistake I ever made (028).**
>
> **You need school to get a decent job. You can't get anywhere without an education (163).**
>
> **Got to get a good education to get the good jobs (179).**
>
> **Because if you want to get somewhere in life, you need an education. I hate shit jobs. I asked welfare about going back but I haven't lived here long enough (166).**

Other respondents dwelled on their life trajectories and where they "might have been" had they finished their education. Many "kicked" themselves for not taking advantage of the opportunities they perceived available to them earlier in their lives. They usually compared their present negative life situations with these "could have been" scenarios.

> **Cause I would've been working for the government by now (032).**
>
> **Now I have to go back to school to get my career. Could have had one by now and not laid off. Thats a good reason (017).**
>
> **I could be in university or be in a good job at least. But I got no place to live (060).**
>
> **Because I wouldn't quit school. I would've been in University, not talking to you guys (086).**
>
> **Cause I could've bettered myself instead of turning to the party life. I could've been way ahead instead of where I am now (058).**

Many respondents hinted that they wanted an education and expressed a desire to return to school. There were some who desired an education for education's sake and others who viewed education as a means by which they could improve their life circumstances. Still others coveted a return to school because they were "bored." They insisted that school had filled a void in their lives by providing an arena for activity. Having left school they were now having problems managing the additional time available to them.

> **Its boring and I don't make enough money (161).**
>
> **Because there is nothing to do and I don't have an education for a job (185).**
>
> **Cause its boring and I need an education. I don't want to be a bum in 10 years (175).**

Despite their school histories, the overwhelming majority of the sample wished to obtain more education than they presently held (see Table 5.21). In fact 109 respondents (54.5%) aspired to attain some sort of college or university education. Another 25 (12.5%) conveyed their desire to enter a vocational program and a further 49 (24.5%) hoped to finish high school. Only six of the respondents (3%) were satisfied with their present level of education. These results perhaps reflect the earlier discussion where subjects recognized that their lack of education restricted their occupational and financial opportunities. However, this might also indicate

TABLE 5.21
SCHOOLING WANT TO GET EVENTUALLY

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NO MORE	6	3.0
MORE HIGH SCHOOL	11	5.5
HIGH SCHOOL GRAD	49	24.5
VOCATIONAL SCHOOL	25	12.5
COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY	109	54.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

that school presented itself as a positive alternative to long periods of unemployment, poverty and homelessness. For the most part it appears that these youths later come to regret their deficient education. They come to experience the labour market as one that frowns upon them for failing to complete school. They face prospects of gaining only poorly paying employment with little likelihood for advancement. They are caught between a school environment they dislike and are ill equipped to succeed in; and a labour market that is hostile and unforgiving because they defaulted in gaining minimal credentials. With this in mind the analysis now proceeds to examine the employment histories of the respondents.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORIES AND LABOUR MARKET DIFFICULTIES

THE EMPLOYED

The inspection of school histories precursed of labour market difficulties for many of the respondents. A careful study of their employment histories provides a more detailed and graphic depiction of their situations. At the time of the study only 38 of the subjects were employed. Twenty-one of these were employed full time, the other 17 part-time. Most of the jobs currently held by these youth were lower level types of employment including fast food, dishwashing, and carwashing. Some had gained better jobs including roofing, plastering, asbestos removal, and carpet laying. Most of these jobs were labour intensive but paid better than "working fastfood."

The average length of employment at these jobs was 18 weeks. The majority of the working youth had only recently gained their present employment. Twenty one of the 38 had been employed for a month or less. Ten of the respondents had been employed at the same job for more than six months.

The average total time unemployed (unemployed meaning out of work and looking for work) during the previous 12 months for the employed subsample was 1.3 months. The amount of time this subsample spent out of work and not looking for work was closer to 4.4 months. Incarceration also limited some of the respondents' opportunities to search for employment. Employed respondents spent an average of 1.6 months incarcerated during the year prior to the interview.

These working respondents averaged a thirty five hour work week and a mean takehome pay of 967 dollars a month (242 dollars a week). However, there was a great deal of variation in the respondents' remuneration. Takehome pay after deductions ranged from a low of 115 dollars a month to a peak of 2400 dollars a month. The majority of those working (26 of the 38) made 1000 dollars or less a month. Fifteen of these made less than 600 dollars a month.

The employed respondents also had sources of income outside of their employment. These included social services, treaty benefits from the federal government, under-the-table-work, and contributions from parents. Further, considering the meagre wages of many of the respondents, it is not surprising that there was also a significant amount of income from illegal activity. Seven respondents reported they sold illegal drugs, six indicated they gained money through "crime," three described money earned from selling stolen property and one recounted that he supplemented his income through gun sales.

TABLE 5.22
EMPLOYED'S PERCEPTIONS OF FINANCIAL SITUATION

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
MORE MONEY THAN I NEED	2	5.3
ENOUGH MONEY TO GET BY	15	39.5
USUALLY SHORT OF MONEY	21	55.3
TOTAL	38	100.0

This criminal activity offers some support to research question 2 E. Illegal behavior would seem to be a rational choice for those who are dissatisfied with the wages of their legitimate employment. Table 5.22 does indicate that 21 of the

38 employed respondents perceived themselves to be short of money when asked to describe their financial situations. In fact, only two of the respondents who worked communicated that they had more money than they needed. However, the decision to engage in crime might also have been influenced by other intangible factors in the youths' work place or job histories. It is to these that we now proceed.

All of the employed respondents had previously held jobs. On average this subsample had held seven jobs prior to their present employment. The types of jobs they previously held were similar to those they now retained, concentrated in fastfood or in the backrooms of restaurants, in addition to the better paying building construction and repair sectors.

Respondents were asked to supply explanations why their employment in their previous jobs had ended. For many, the reasons were simply economic. The majority had been laid off or employed in only temporary positions. Others were let go because the business that employed them went bankrupt or ceased to operate. Despite the prominence of economic factors, a number of respondents noted that they had also been fired from some of their previous positions. Reasons for their dismissal included personal differences: arguments and fistfights with management or authority personnel. Others related their dismissals to being tardy for, or absent from, work. A few claimed their demise was the direct result of their poor performance on the job.

A number of the youth indicated that they had quit some of their previous employment. Reasons offered for their decisions included poor hours, meager pay and shoddy working conditions. Some had left to take better jobs. The others departed to pursue better positions. This unhappiness with employment had recreated itself in many of the respondents' present occupations. Seventeen respondents reported that they were currently looking for other employment. The main reasons: the desire or need for more money and job satisfaction.

Finally, a small number of youth indicated that they had quit their jobs to move to other cities. For others the decision to leave employment was influenced by their return to school.

Together, the types of jobs these youth held, and the reasons they were no longer employed at these jobs, reflect the youth's marginalization into the lower skill, lower wage sectors of the labour market. Their education relegates them to a secondary sector that lacks job security, benefits, satisfaction or good wages. They are in positions where they can be easily exploited by management, and have little recourse in their disputes. At the same time there is little commitment by the youths towards this kind of employment. This type of employment is easy to quit, not show up for or be late for because there is little to draw the youth to appear and perform favourably. It may also be the case that they lack the necessary life skills to properly carry out their duties.

This intersection between the lack of skills and absence of commitment leads to a mix where the youth moves through a series of low paying, poor security jobs; jobs particularly vulnerable to larger economic forces that renders them the first to be laid off or fired and the last hired.

This type of employment pattern contributes to the youths' estrangement from the labour market. Lacking access to stable, satisfying work, they begin exploring alternative options that provide more reliable sources of income to supplement their meagre wages. As predicted in research question 2 D, it may be the case that the greater the number of jobs, the less employment stability, the greater the dissatisfaction with the labour market and the greater the risk of criminal behavior. Thus, those employed may engage in criminal behavior not only because they lack what they view as acceptable remuneration, but also because their employment histories have inhibited the development of a stake in conformity. This leads to an alienation from the labour market whereby criminal behavior supplements wages in good times and replaces wages during bad. Employment and crime are alternative ways to the same goal: money. If one is insufficient the other is accessed. Thus, it may be the case that the youth move from job to job sometimes supplementing their wages, sometimes not, always aware of their criminal alternatives. When unemployed, they may run into periods where their criminal activities are insufficient and they become forced to access the low skilled, miminal wage employment they have experienced in the past. It might be the case that only in times of well paying, satisfying stable employment do these youth forgo their criminal behavior.

THE UNEMPLOYED

The other 162 respondents in the sample were employed neither part-time nor full time. Many of these youth had been without employment for a long period of time. Forty-nine of the respondents had been without a job for over a year. Eleven respondents had never worked. The average period since last employment was almost eleven months. This period of joblessness was divided between unemployment (unemployment meaning out of work and looking for work) and discouragement or lack of effort. The average total time unemployed during the year prior to the interview for this sub-group was about three months. The average total time where subjects were out of work and not looking for employment was closer to six months. The average time incarcerated for the unemployed subsample was two months. Thus, compared to their employed peers, the periods of discouragement and unemployment were somewhat greater.

The extent of the long term joblessness amongst these respondents suggests that they are at risk for becoming detached from the labour market. The extremely long period since last employment serves to negate the relevance of work, and provides ample opportunity to dissolve the stakes in conformity and beliefs that lawbreaking is wrong. The data reveal that there are periods where the youth continue to look for work, but their failure dovetails back into periods where little effort is made to locate employment. We would expect, as in research question 2 B, that those who continue to explore legal employment options during periods of joblessness to be less at risk for criminal activities since they appear to maintain some commmitment to the labour market. Alternatively, those youth who rarely, or never, search for jobs when they are out of work, or who give up after failed efforts, are more likely to have a diminished commitment to the labour market if they have any commitment at all. Employment is no longer a pertinent concern. Other matters at hand have replaced jobs in terms of daily activity and material support. As noted in research question 2 C , it is these type of youths that we would expect to turn to criminal behavior.

When respondents were questioned as to why they were not looking for work during these periods, their answers varied. There were a number of youth who had become discouraged and given up their job search. They outlined how they had initially put forth great effort to locate employment, but after periods of rejection and failure had discontinued their endeavours. Some talked of the dejection, humiliation and damage to their self esteem. The abandonment of the search protected them against further blows to their feelings of self-worth.

> **Well I didn't find anything in the first so I didn't bother (164).**
>
> **I just gave up. I was looking for 2 months seriously but I had no call backs (014).**
>
> **Fuck it. I'm tired of it. I'm tired of this shit. I can't get one. After 5 months I can't get a job (019).**
>
> **There was no work. I had looked and just gave up. The whole time I was out of work I was trying to get into school and get off the drugs (059).**
>
> **Cause when I was looking I'd put in applications and never got the job so I said forget it (116).**
>
> **Cause I just gave up. I just handed out so many resumes and stuff and nothing happened (117).**

> **Cause I got fed up with it. You get kind of tired hearing sorry you haven't got enough experience or you don't have the qualifications (125).**
>
> **I actually got sick of it. The rejection kind of kills your esteem there (070).**

Others believed they lacked the necessary skills, credentials and appearance to obtain employment or that the jobs they were qualified to get were unavailable. Pessimistic, predicting a negative outcome to their efforts, they never attempted to gain employment. Their forecasts were probably based in past experiences and the experiences of their street peers. Wishing to avoid the suffering of those just described above, these respondents retreated and hid from the potential assaults on their dignity.

> **Most of the jobs you need grade 12. In the summer there's usually a lot of labour jobs open (039).**
>
> **Because one, the swastika on my forehead. Two, I got no experience and three, I got no education (071).**
>
> **Cause I probably won't get a job so I don't really try to get one (078).**

However, the most frequent reason given by respondents to account for the periods of search inactivity was drug and/or alcohol abuse or its more generic term "partying." For some of these respondents, their abuses took priority to the employment search. More important was the satisfaction of their addiction. The fulfilling of their needs left them in conditions where they were ill suited to properly carry out employment searches. Requesting employment applications, or dropping off resumes while visibly drunk or stoned ensured immediate dismissal of the petitioner's paperwork. For others, partying appeared to provide more fun, excitement, and other higher rewards than did seeking work, or work itself. They questioned why one would spend their time looking for employment when they could be "high" or "drunk." For some the partying offered refuge from their failures in the labour market and supplied an alternative to combat the boredom of their days.

> **I got too involved with drugs (046).**

> **Usually too drunk. Going on drunk binges. Going on stone binges (084).**
>
> **Just basically getting drunk and stoned everyday (016).**
>
> **I was doing drugs, getting high, partying, goofing off (063).**
>
> **Cause I was just doing drugs and partying (088).**
>
> **I didn't want to work. I just wanted to hang around and smoke drugs (121).**
>
> **Motivation was down. Self esteem. Plus I just wanted to get high and drunk and that's all I was doing (110).**

Another of the more popular explanations provided involved the respondents' lack of motivation. Many indicated that they did not feel like trying, or were too lazy to look for work. The respondents were stuck in a daily repetition that did not include attempts to gain employment. Instead, days were spent wondering the streets and the malls of the city. The routine set and difficult to alter, the youths failed to rise beyond their apathy.

> **No energy, no kick ass, kick in the butt to get going. Just not priority one right now (024).**
>
> **Lazy. No other answer for that. Here and there it added up to 2 months (058).**
>
> **Just lazy. Had other things to do. That's where the big D comes in (060).**
>
> **Motivation. Not really motivated (002).**
>
> **Just not having the motivation to go out and do it. I'm sure I'll build up the motivation to do it somewhere. I have probation coming up so it will be a requirement (052).**
>
> **Because I didn't want to work. I was a bum. Had no desire to get a job (138).**
>
> **Cause I always had money and I was too lazy (026).**

Perhaps swaying this chronic and habitual indifference to employment were friends and the rewards of these relationships. Some respondents reported that they were too busy having fun with their friends to search out employment. These friends, also indifferent to employment, supplied support and offered choices for activities other than job searching.

A large number of those interviewed implied that they did not search for employment because they did not require the financial rewards of a job. Employment was not essential because they always had money, or other ways to make it. A number were more bold, boasting of economic success through crime or drugs. Here the youths pointed out that their income was superior to those who had legitimate jobs, and better than what they themselves could hope for in legal employment. They also emphasized the ease with which they gained these resources and made references to the advantages of their methods of fiscal gain.

> **Because doing crime supplemented my income very well (145).**
>
> **I didn't want to work. I got that other thing, selling guns, where I can make money (172).**
>
> **Lost incentive. I was just too busy scoring cash the easy way. Crime (086).**
>
> **Busy being a criminal. Looking for work you just get broke and have no place to live (060).**
>
> **Well I don't know, just hangin around doing B and E's. I thought I'd get more money that way (095).**
>
> **Didn't want one. Didn't want the responsibility of a job. Could get money other ways (048).**
>
> **Didn't want to work. Don't want to work. Rather sell drugs (066).**
>
> **I didn't really care. I used to always do crime to get money so why work (173).**
>
> **Just don't want one now. Found other ways to survive instead of working (024).**
>
> **Didn't want a job. Make money alternatives. Better opportunities out there (044).**
>
> **I was dealing dope. I didn't need to work. I'd make more in a day than they do in a week (149).**

> **I just finished a month and half course for getting a job. It was garbage. I don't want to work for five bucks an hour. Its hard. I tried it. Especially when I know I could do better dealing dope (091).**

A few respondents blamed the hardships of their situations for their idleness. They were unable to obtain employment because they had "no fixed address." Some reported problems where the recording of an address and phone number on applications was required. Unable to be contacted through these means, they were ineligible for callbacks. Further, there was the perception of discrimination against the homeless by employers. Respondents felt that employers looked down upon the homeless and were reluctant to hire someone who lacked a stable domicile. Others outlined the difficulties in trying to survive on a daily basis. The search for employment was an extra variable that contributed to their burdensome daily activities of trying to exist.

> **Everywhere I go I look for a job but its hard to get a job when they go what's your address (089).**
>
> **If its a good opportunity I'd work. Its just a hassle if you haven't got a home and that since they can't phone you back so why try (025).**
>
> **I was just trying to survive. Moved from here to Vancouver, Vancouver to here. Here to Toronto and back (092).**

Some of the youth pointed out that they were unable to search for employment because they were incarcerated. Others cited medical reasons. Others were living at home and attending school at the time and felt they did not require employment. As their life situations changed and they were ejected or withdrew from their homes and/or were expelled or dropped out of school, employment became more salient. These respondents indicated that since these changes they were actively looking for employment.

Despite the apparent lack of attachment to, or interest in, the labour market in their recent pasts, 72% of the unemployed (116 out of the 162) claimed to be actively searching for a job at the time of the interview. The explanations from the 46 respondents not actively seeking work suggested little commitment to the labour market. Many indicated that they "didn't want a job" or "didn't need a job". As above, some claimed they had money and did not need the pay a job might bring in. Again there were allusions to the financial successes of criminal behavior and dealing drugs. The lack of motivation was once more offered as a response by some and, finally, many pointed out that they were utilizing their time attempting to return to school.

As has already been noted, 151 of the unemployed respondents had previously held employment. Like their employed counterparts, they had averaged about seven jobs in their lifetimes. Again these jobs ranged in skill, status, and quality. Like their employed counterparts, menial employment in fastfood, dishwashing, carwashing, janitorial, telephone soliciting, and retail was well represented in their job histories. Others had labour intensive work in roofing, concrete demolition, drywalling, stuccoing and other construction forums, as well as general farm labour.

Similar to those in the employed subsample, the unemployed respondents had been subject to layoffs, temporary employment, seasonal work and the failure of their employers' businesses. They had also been dismissed for discipline problems, personal conflicts, drugs, theft, tardiness, absenteeism, and violence. Many had left their jobs because of poor pay, the lack of career prospects, unsatisfactory working conditions or being cheated on their checks. Again many left because they were moving and others because they were about to be incarcerated.

Like their employed peers they faced an unsteady labour market that presented them with little opportunity or material with which to make a commitment to the jobs available. Like their employed colleagues, the result was a series of low paying, low skilled, sometimes labour intensive work that offered little in terms of benefits, security or satisfaction and made it easy to do a poor job, leave, or be fired. Although current employment status may be somewhat accidental or random and not differentiate respondents much, employment did offer an access to legal income not available to those without a job.

With support from employment absent, the unemployed respondents relied on various types of legal sources of money. Fifty-nine of the 162 unemployed youths received some kind of state support. Fifty-four of these were on welfare and another five were on Unemployment Insurance. The average income of those actually receiving benefits was 504 dollars. This left 103 of the youths in the sample with no legal income.

There is some speculation that state support can buffer the harsh effects of unemployment by offering financial benefits that decrease the motivation for criminal activity. Yet, considering the actual average amount received by the respondents, it would not come as a surprise to find out respondents found the support unsatisfactory, or insufficient and looked elsewhere to supplement their resources. The data do reveal a great deal of dissatisfaction with the support received. Only eleven of the recipients of state assistance felt that it was adequate, was enough to live on, and was a better alternative to hunger and homelessness.

> **Yep, Its not too much, not too little, Keeps me enough to survive (143).**
>
> **Close to enough. They're really naive to some of the needs. Sure its a help. I prefer it over fucking picking bottles (055).**
>
> **Its basically all I need. I occasionally don't like being on welfare. They give me what I need to live (101).**
>
> **Yes if you plan your shit you're ok. If you don't abuse drugs or alcohol its enough. Enough for food and rent (087).**

The rest of those receiving state support complained that it was insufficient to live on. Some argued that it was only adequate for one aspect of their necessities. For example, certain respondents indicated the money was only enough to feed themselves. Others suggested that it was satisfactory for rent. Others pointed out that there was nothing left over for clothes or disposable amounts for enjoyment. Of course some expressed their displeasure with the flip sides of these arguments. There was not enough for food, or for rent. In either case, they were arguing that they could not adequately house, feed and clothe themselves on the money they received from the state.

> **No, they don't even give you close enough for food. I go through 250\300 a month. I pay 390 a month in rent. There goes my whole check (028).**
>
> **No, the money never seems to go as far as you want it to go. I always seem to run out of food at the end of the month (041).**
>
> **No, because as it is I spend 200 on groceries and I'm out and its only half way through the month (029).**
>
> **No, because my rent is 325. Power and pager is 50 a month. You're supposed to buy food with rent. Laundry is 20. So that's 75 to buy food. Even 30 bucks more would be good (044).**

> **No, they only give you 210 for rent. Rooming houses are 250 and they won't let 40 bucks slide. So you have to get room and board (013).**
>
> **No, cause rents are anywhere from 270-380 for a very comfortable bachelor furnished. But welfare doesn't give us enough to do that (051).**
>
> **No, rents like 350 at least. Then there's the damage deposit. Then they wonder why everyone on welfare is in jail (060).**
>
> **No, its just to pay for rent is 350. Not enough for rent and groceries. You need clothes, you need to eat some kind of good food somewhere. You just pay rent and sleep. Eat junk food (118).**
>
> **Hell no. Because if you want to live in a half decent place you can't. Can pay my bills but no food money. Can't afford to buy groceries (059).**

In reaction to the shortage, other state assisted respondents testified to supplementing their income through illegal activities. They argued that welfare was insufficient to make ends meet and they were forced to find alternative routes to get by. In fact, a few made it clear that the state assistance complimented their criminal resources rather than the other way around. There was the impression if one could meet the requirements to get welfare, one should seize the opportunity to gain the extra funds. Some expressed disbelief and pity towards those who attempted or made do with the sparse resources received from the state. Instead of commending these efforts, respondents offered advice on alternative methods of increasing one's income.

> **No its hard to make a living on that. Have to resort to crime to get by (090)**
>
> **No I've never relied on welfare. I look at the people who do and feel sorry for them. I don't know how they do it. At the end of the month they should score a few ounces and turn it over (091).**
>
> **No. You can buy food. You have enough to live on. Have enough to survive. You can't do anything like go to a movie. You should go into the drug dealing business for one year although personally I don't want to get shot (094).**
>
> **No I get my own money. I basically get food shelter (129).**

Considering that the majority of the unemployed respondents were living in extreme poverty, it is not surprising that like their employed counterparts, they resorted to other sources of income to get by. Some of these were legal, including treaty benefits, workers compensation, disability pensions and under-the-table-work. Again some received contributions from family and friends and others resorted to panhandling and busking. Some respondents sold their belongings in order to survive. However, many of the unemployed respondents reported supplementing their income through drug dealing and crime. Criminal activities reported included the sale of stolen property, theft, break and enters, rolling or robbing people, armed robbery, selling guns, breaking into cars, stealing cars, scams or conning people, bootlegging, pimping, and prostitution.

TABLE 5.23
UNEMPLOYED'S PERCEPTIONS OF FINANCIAL SITUATION

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
MORE MONEY THAN I NEED	8	4.9
ENOUGH MONEY TO GET BY	62	38.3
USUALLY SHORT OF MONEY	92	56.8
TOTAL	162	100.0

Thinking seriously about their poverty, it is not surprising that the majority of the unemployed respondents (n=92) stated that they usually lacked money (see Table 5.23). However, what is more surprising are the 62 respondents who indicated that they had enough money to get by and the eight who reported that they had more money than they needed. These numbers suggest and support some of the unemployeds' earlier responses, that many were making considerable sums of money through illegal activities. What this suggests is, contrary to the speculations in research question 4 E, that those more likely to commit crime are not necessarily those who believe they are short of money; rather it may be those who realize that they can successfully satisfy their needs through illegal means. That is, it is those who explore the criminal world, and find financial success without sufficient employment or state support who continue to access these resources. Those who never make the connection between illegal activities and sufficient money, or who are unsuccessful in their criminal pursuits; of have other sources of social control, may be less likely to make use of the illegal methods available to secure themselves satisfactory financial well being. It may well be that it is those who have been isolated from the conventional labour market through longterm joblessness and discouragement who are more at risk to explore these illegal options. Success in the illegal market place further secludes them from legal employment since they are able to support themselves in a manner, that according to some of the earlier responses, would be unreachable with the types of jobs and wages available to them. With such success, the length of their joblessness and the periods of being out of work and not looking for work grow as the stake in conformity, relevance of work, and moral commitment to conventional society is eradicated. This makes it extremely difficult to return to conventional society since all the rewards lie in the criminal realm, and the poor paying, unsatisfying, unstable employment lies in the conformist sphere.

EXPLANATIONS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

INTERNAL ATTRIBUTIONS

A number of researchers have called for greater attention to be paid to people's interpretations and explanations of their unemployment (Box, 1987; Box and Hale, 1985; Hartnagel, 1990; Horowitz, 1984; Macleod, 1987; Pearlin et al., 1981 Wright, 1981). In particular, there is emphasis placed on the attributional location that people adopt. To elaborate, people may attribute the cause of their unemployment to either internal factors such as the lack of ability, skill, appearance and effort, or alternatively, to external causes such as a poor economic environment, high unemployment, or poor government. Theoretically, it is argued that external attributions of unemployment are more likely to lead to criminal behavior. Those who blame "the system" or "the economy" may engage in crime out of resistance, protest and indignation. In contrast those who make internal attributions for their unemployment and blame themselves, are less likely to feel a sense of frustration and react with criminal behavior.

The present research took up this cause and explored the role of internal and external causal attributions for unemployment and their role in criminal behavior. Three general internal causes were examined. The first dealt with the relationship between the respondents' perceptions of their competence and unemployment. To expatiate, did respondents perceive their unemployment to be a result of their lack of skills, training and education? The frequency distribution in

Table 5.24 demonstrated that the majority of respondents felt that their lack of competence had some influence on their being unemployed. Fifty-seven percent felt that their lack of skill, training and education contributed somewhat to their being unemployed.

The second internal scale explored respondents' perceptions of inadequacy in terms of their interview skills and appearance and how these related to unemployment. Forty-two percent of the youth indicated in Table 5.25 that their

TABLE 5.24
COMPETENCE SCALE

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VERY IMPORTANT	24	12.0
IMPORTANT	90	45.0
NEITHER/NOR	65	32.5
UNIMPORTANT	19	9.5
VERY UNIMPORTANT	2	1.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.25
INTERVIEW/ADEQUACY SCALE

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VERY IMPORTANT	18	9.0
IMPORTANT	65	32.5
NEITHER/NOR	56	28.0
UNIMPORTANT	47	23.5
VERY UNIMPORTANT	14	7.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

poor appearance and ineffectual interview skills were important factors in their unemployment.

The third and final internal scale was developed to tap respondents' causal perceptions of their unemployment concerned motivation. Here the youth were queried as to whether they believed that their lack of searching or desire for employment contributed to their unemployment. Forty-six percent of the respondents implied that their lack of motivation was at least an important reason for their joblessness (see Table 5.26).

TABLE 5.26
MOTIVATION SCALE

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VERY IMPORTANT	34	17.0
IMPORTANT	58	29.0
NEITHER/NOR	64	32.0
UNIMPORTANT	29	14.5
VERY UNIMPORTANT	15	7.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

The responses on all three of the scales reveal that youth feel responsible for their unemployment in a number of different domains. Some perceive their unemployment related to their lack of skills and education, others to their appearance, and yet others to their lack of motivation. There are, of course, those youth who feel responsible in more than one of these domains. For example, a certain youth may attribute the cause of his unemployment to his lack of motivation and his lack of skills, another to his appearance and his lack of skills. What all these domains share is a sense of self blame. The respondents believe that they are responsible for their unemployment.

In research question 4 A we speculated that youths who attribute their unemployment to internal sources such as those reviewed above would be less at risk for crime. Their self-recrimination inhibits the development of discontent and criminal behavior. However, our earlier analysis has uncovered a number of youth who claimed to neither search for nor desire work. Their successes in criminal activities had slowly eroded their ties to the legitimate labour market. Thus, it may be the case that the internal attributional variable of not searching for employment is linked to the discouragement variable discussed earlier. The lack of effort signifies a detachment from the labour market that makes criminal activities more likely.

Similarly, one half of the appearance/interview adequacy variable, appearance is linked to the various styles the youths have adopted. While it might be argued that these youth do lack access to what might be considered proper interview attire (suits and ties) because of their poverty and homelessness, it is also the case that many have adopted spectacular appearances by choice and often refuse to surrender their images for the sake of employment. Again, the style may indicate a disaffection or resistance to the labour market, leaving these youth more at risk for criminal behavior. Thus, while these are admittedly items of self blame, this may not, as theoretically conjectured, mean that those responding affirmatively are less at risk for criminal behavior. They may in fact be more at risk. The less a person looks for a job and the more unwilling he is to abdicate his street costume, the greater the odds of criminal conduct. It is for further analysis to settle this debate.

EXTERNAL ATTRIBUTIONS

While the respondents make a number of internal attributions, they also recognize the importance of outside factors. Two scales representing external elements that might directly affect the respondents' employment opportunities were completed utilizing measures focusing on the influence of the recession and employment opportunities. The Recession scale revealed that the majority of the respondents attributed their unemployment to outside economic factors (see Table 5.27). Almost 62 percent of the sample believed that the recession and poor economy were the cause of their unemployment. According to theoretical arguments leading to research question 4 B, we would expect that those who attributed the cause of their unemployment to the recession to be more at risk for criminal behavior. The external attributions may lead to discontent that can only be resolved through criminal behavior.

It is expected that discontent and a sense of frustration will be displayed by those who feel they are excluded from the avenues of success by the operation of unfair and discriminatory criteria. The data indicate that far fewer respondents perceived their avenues to desired employment blocked by unequal opportunity structures than by decreased business activity and high joblessness. For example, when the respondents were asked if everyone in Canada had the opportunity to obtain employment corresponding to their abilities, the majority of the respondents reacted positively.

Almost 66% believed that this was the case. Similarly, when respondents were asked if they believed that everyone who worked hard had a good chance of succeeding, an overwhelming 84 % agreed. Thus, despite the recognition of the role of outside forces in their unemployment, most of the youth believed that the economic system was structured fairly so that all who wished to succeed could.

Yet it may be the case that it is those youth who feel the sense of injustice, discontent, and distrust generated by this perceived blockage that engage in criminal behavior. We have already seen that many youth perceive illegal behavior as a more lucrative course of gaining material resources than is the poor paying, unsatisfying alternative. Their prior experience through a series of unskilled jobs with meagre

TABLE 5.27
RECESSION SCALE

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VERY IMPORTANT	21	10.5
IMPORTANT	102	51.0
NEITHER/NOR	52	26.0
UNIMPORTANT	24	12.0
VERY UNIMPORTANT	1	.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.28
EMPLOYMENT CORRESPONDING TO ABILITIES

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
STRONGLY AGREE	38	19.0
AGREE	93	46.5
NEITHER/NOR	19	9.5
DISAGREE	42	21.0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	8	4.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

salaries may have influenced their perceptions that obstructions to better paying employment are both great and unjust. This in turn may have induced them to scout for opportunities outside conventional society that provide more lucrative rewards. Again this will be for further analysis to determine.

WHY DO OTHERS HAVE JOBS

When the respondents were asked to explain why other youths their age had jobs and they did not, their answers revealed a greater sense of disadvantage than displayed in their closed-ended responses. Their responses also elucidated many of the areas examined in the scales. First, the youths' experiences in the labour market had taught them that their lack of credentials and education hampered them in obtaining jobs. It came as no surprise that they willingly admitted that it was youth who had attained higher education than themselves who prospered in the tight economic conditions. Those who lacked education but were fortunate enough to have gained sufficient experience to gain other employment along the way were also deemed advantaged. But it was the optimal combination of experience and education that allowed others to gain employment before the respondents.

> **Maybe they got education. Without education its harder (004).**
>
> **Mainly cause I don't have the school, the experience. So they'll usually have the schooling, the experience or both. Man I haven't got any experience in work. Only experience in illegal stuff so I can't go see I got this experience (019).**
>
> **Maybe they got more experience than I do. More schooling (155).**
>
> **My work experience is poor. My employment record is poor. My education (058).**
>
> **Certificates, grading, things like that. Qualifications (004).**
>
> **There's lots of jobs I could do but I don't quite have the qualifications (041).**

There was also an awareness that in undertaking job searches one had to present a suitable appearance for employers in order to be hired. Part of appearance were interview skills, clothing, and hair style. Many of the street youth perceived themselves as lacking in interview skills and wanting in appearance, attire and overall image, as well as education and experience. These mounting disabilities discouraged the job search and increased the disillusionment with employment for some of the youth. Interestingly, the open-ended responses suggest that for these youth, inadequate appearance was related to poverty and homelessness. There was little evidence of the stylistic defense and bravado speculated on earlier. What this suggests is that those who celebrate their appearance are less likely to attribute their unemployment to it. These youth are probably more detached from the labour market and not searching for employment so that appearance in no way influences potential employers adjudications.

> **They have better attendance records at school. They act better at interview situations. They're not fidgeting all the time (143).**
>
> **Because I don't have that good of a grade school and I'm unconfident about myself (152).**
>
> **Because of my attitude. A lot of its my attitude. I go to an interview and I talk attitude (092).**
>
> **Cause the first reason is I don't speak English well and the second cause of how I look, how I dress (110).**
>
> **I don't have the motivation, I don't have the new clothes to wear to interviews, I don't have the education. I don't have the skill (050).**
>
> **Cause I look scraggly. I look all grungy (148).**
>
> **I guess some employers judge my appearance. Cause they stick with school, plus I quit a lot of jobs in a small amount of time (018).**

In addition to education, experience and appearance, there were other factors respondents credited for assisting other youth to gain employment. In particular, effort. While education and experience were major factors in job attainment, there also needed to be some activity exerted towards locating employment. Many of the youths speculated that those youths who had obtained employment had tried harder than they did. Many respondents admitted to sporadic searches, or acknowledged a total lack of effort. Thus, their lack of effort combined with little education and minimal experience stunted employment opportunities. These responses provide us with more evidence that the lack of effort was related to a detachment from the labour market and encourage us to interpret the internal attribution of motivation as potentially leading to criminal behavior.

> **Cause I didn't end up having much school, I'm lazy and I just don't care much (013).**
>
> **Because they tried harder to get a job and tried at different times. Also more work experience (195).**
>
> **Because they have more education than me and they've actually gone out and looked for a job (144)**
>
> **Because they have more education than I do and they try harder to get a job and they have more experience (177).**
>
> **Cause they're probably tried harder to get one. Probably have more skills suited to the job (164).**
>
> **Laziness, Basically not wanting to get a job at the time (043).**
>
> **Cause I don't have the fucking momentum to go out and look for a job. I don't have my mind set on it (090).**

The role drugs and alcohol played in unemployment was also emphasized by some of the youth. For some their abuses inhibited the employment search. The need to satisfy addictions took precedence over locating employment. A few conveyed histories where their addictions were directly responsible for their job loss. Together, the drug and alcohol problems of many of the youth served to make employment searches sporadic and for the most part unsuccessful. When youths managed to locate jobs, their habits interfered, sabotaged and ultimately destroyed their ability to retain the job.

> **Drug use. Because the timing is wrong right now. Need the right timing(087)**
>
> **Drinking and getting into trouble. Drinking and being a smart ass when I'm drunk. And the fact I hate cops and I get around for being a smart ass (103).**
>
> **Last labouring job I had before coming here I was drinking too much. Drinking all the time (088).**

> **My environment. I'm living in the transient community and there's a lot of bullshit and also myself. There's a lot of personal barriers. The drugs, the drinking (110).**
>
> **Not educated enough and drug addiction. Never got counselling at a very young age. Family background. Dysfunctional family. Very. And turned to drugs for a nice false reality. To feel comfortably numb (059).**

There were those respondents who emphasized the role their criminal behavior had in their unemployment. On the one hand their pasts made them unemployable; the stigmatization of their criminal record rendered them less attractive to potential employers. Employers were hesitant to take a risk on someone who was potentially unreliable and would need constant supervision to protect against the expected attempted theft. This would appear to support a labelling argument where the application of a criminal label serves to isolate the youth from conventional activities, roadblocking reentry into mainstream society. The youths are forced to interact with others who have been similarly labelled and cast out and they have little choice but to continue their criminal activities in order to survive. Their selection of lifestyle is restricted to deviant choices. There is little opportunity for those hoping to access choices such as legitimate employment that might serve to help renegotiate a return to the noncriminal world.

> **Getting into trouble too much (010).**
>
> **My criminal record. No training (005).**
>
> **Basically because of my lack of education. My criminal record. (096).**
>
> **Cause I spent too much time in jail (102).**
>
> **Criminal record. Big stepping stone (036).**
>
> **Because I do crime. They probably don't so they can get a job (173).**
>
> **Because other kids don't break the law as much as I do. I'm addicted to breaking the law. It does get addictive if you do it enough (033).**

On the other hand, respondents expressed the significance of illegal activities as means of support, behaviors that enabled them to bypass traditional means of obtaining material resources. Some of these youth argued that for these reasons they had an advantage over their conventional peers who were forced to take employment because they had no other way to support themselves. In short, other youth their age held employment because they lacked the skills, ability and knowledge to gain funds without working. For these respondents criminal behavior was viewed as an undertaking that was both easier and more productive in comparison to the employment conventional youth were forced to take. Criminal activities generated none of the stigmatizing effects that made crime a necessary adaptation; rather criminal behavior was chosen as a superior alternative to legal employment.

> **Too many ways easier to make money that are easier. I do have a job. Its just not in a legal scale that's all (025).**
>
> **Because they want to work. No life skills. I can get money for free and any regular person my age wouldn't know the first thing about living on the street so they have to work (066).**
>
> **Because maybe they got brought up a different way. I know I can get a job. I just don't want one. They buy jeans with hard earned money. I can buy it with whatever, by doing crime. There are only so many jobs I can get with a grade 8 education (107).**
>
> **Cause I usually find other ways to make money (140).**

Some of the respondents noted that their conventional working peers were more amenable to taking jobs they themselves found distasteful. That is, other youth were willing to work in a job that provided little stimulation, required few tangible skills and paid a paltry wage. In comparison, the street youth were more selective in their employment choices. They expressed an integrity and self-respect that prohibited them from taking menial, meagre monied jobs. They declared disdain for those who let themselves take such employment. These youth argued that for them to take employment it would have to be on their terms. These conditions appeared to be a job that was both rewarding and highly remunerated.

> **Cause I don't fucking want one unless its the one I want (049).**

> **Cause they want money bad enough and it doesn't matter what kind of job they get. Other kids go I want to work at Dairy Queen (192).**
>
> **They're more willing to work for any amount of wage (154).**
>
> **They don't mind getting screwed around (162).**
>
> **Basically a lot of kids my age have education, or better training or work experience or contacts or may be willing to settle for less (044).**

A number of the street youth placed less emphasis on their personal deficiencies, skills, idiosyncrasies and choices, and articulated economic, status and social advantages available to other youth. In particular, it was "not what you know but who you know." The respondents argued that the parents of other youths secured them employment through connections cultivated through business relationships and friendships. Some offered more direct evidence suggesting that many non-street youth were employed in family enterprises. Together they implied that certain conventional youths had familial opportunities that were nonexistent or closed off to others. Many respondents hinted that their modest backgrounds had doomed them to their present meagre circumstances. They lacked the advantages available to some and were always trailing those with superior family economic histories.

> **Have a higher education and their parents help them get the jobs (026).**
>
> **Cause I don't know enough people. People who've been fed the silver spoon all your life (101).**
>
> **Because they know a lot of people. Born with a silver spoon in their mouth (105).**
>
> **Better appearance. Better experience. Parents know people (120).**
>
> **Well some of them work for their parents and stuff. They have it made. Actually a lot of them (039).**
>
> **Better opportunities. Lots of rich kids out there (079).**
>
> **Parents own the businesses(030).**

> **My upbringing. My standard of living. Brought up in a poor family (005).**
>
> **Cause other kids try harder than I do. Probably look acceptable. They have a better education, better appearance. They probably came from a better background (014).**

Some respondents touched on a different set of advantages enjoyed by their nonstreet peers. These beneficial situations included a place to live, an address, and family support. Without a permanent domicile it was difficult for the respondents to gain employment. They lacked the basic information required in filling out employment applications. Without a base from which to be reached, attempted contacts by employers for interviews and offers were difficult if not impossible. Further, the lack of a home, of course, made day-to-day survival more difficult; finding food and shelter a priority over even employment. The street youth argued that living at home disqualified their nonstreet peers from experiencing this sort of difficulty. In fact, it was touched on that living at home provided an economic buffer where one could be more selective about employment in contrast to their own desperate circumstances where the first available employment was snapped up.

In tandem with this economic buffer was the family support other youths were perceived to have; support that allowed them to remain at home, and provided them with encouragement, understanding and advice on how to be successful in the competitive labour market.

> **Stupidity. I don't have the patience. I don't have a phone number. I don't have an apartment (079).**
>
> **Cause they live at home and they got an address and phone number and all that (182).**
>
> **They live in an atmosphere where they can wait to get a job. They don't have to rely on a job (055).**
>
> **Cause they're probably still living at home (035).**
>
> **Maybe cause they're still living at home going to school (063).**
>
> **Cause they have a higher education, better interview skills and they live at home with mommy and daddy (045).**
>
> **They have schooling, they have everything. Family support, a place to live (020).**

> **Cause they have the support of their family (024).**
>
> **I guess I'm not like other kids. I'm not from the happy little family all the other little kids come from (084).**

Finally there was the impression from some of the youth that gaining employment had little to do with education, experience, appearance, effort, or attitude. It was not connected to family background or informal connections, or even family support. Instead, luck explained other youths' employment. Their peers just happened to be in "the right place at the right time." This logic might have allowed the youths to downplay the role of some of the previously mentioned factors in their inability to secure employment. It neutralized the other youths' advantages and their own disabilities and allowed them to remain optimistic about the prospects for future employment. It absolved them from any self condemnation or blame for their unemployment. To a certain degree this attitude may be a result of their employment experiences. For the most part they worked jobs where they were nothing more than easily substituted parts. Lacking skills, knowledge and credentials, they at one time obtained employment, for no other reason than their availability, probably replacing another similarly limited youth. Thus, gaining employment meant being available to be exchanged for another youth who was fired for misbehavior or failed to appear for work.

> **Hardly any jobs out there. They just got lucky (006).**
>
> **I have to say luck. Its hit and miss. I met my boss sitting in a bar (027).**
>
> **Luck of the draw. Got there before I did (028).**
>
> **Luck pure luck I got in the first place. I find its pure luck. That's my belief. It may not be true but its my belief (046).**
>
> **Right place at the right time is what I'd call it (085).**
>
> **Well just from my outlook its the right one at the right place. Plus the one with more education. But sometimes its luck. Just luck (118).**

The above responses tend to reflect a varied and complex view of unemployment. There appears to be a realization that without education, skills, experience, and effort there is little hope for obtaining employment. Further, substance abuse problems that sabotage searches and absorb attention and energy, along with the criminal labelling that segregates the youth from the labour market, serve as further barriers to employment. Yet there are indications that, for many, the types of employment available are undesirable in terms of both financial and intangible rewards. There is more than a hint of self-respect and integrity that makes itself shown in the youths' refusal to take objectionable employment and in their choice of criminal pursuits over legal behavior. There is the suggestion that those who do take such employment have lost, have given in to a system that will crush their pride in return for a small pay check that still leaves them barely able to survive.

There is also a realization among some of the youth that they are not playing on a level field. They are short on the family and status advantages that enable others to bypass the employment queue. Conventional peers have available encouragement and advice on selection through the times of unemployment. In addition, they have food, clothing and shelter that make employment less imperative.

Their paucity of credentials, the absence of informal ties, the lack of emotional and financial backing all act as roadblocks for the youth in the quest for employment. Yet, we see that many do not search for employment. Many do not need employment. They have found ways around the system. A system that punishes them for their backgrounds, rarely giving them a second chance. They survive in spite of the system. And while they realize they are disadvantaged, it does not mean they are ready to accept their fate. They find the conditions unfair and perhaps react accordingly. For some, criminal behavior provides them with resources far superior to those available to other youth their age. By skirting a system that brutalizes them, they come out, in their eyes, ahead of the game.

Street youth appear to attribute their unemployment to a number of internal and external causes. And contrary to theoretical expectations the argument can be made that certain of both types of attributions can lead to criminal behavior. For example, the person who does not look for employment has lost commitment to the labour market which may free him to access alternative modes of survival. While lack of effort is an internal attribution, it does not necessarily leave respondents less at risk for criminal behavior. Similarly, a number of youth suggested that their unemployment was related to substance abuse. It may be the case that this behavior increases criminal behavior as the youth are induced to criminal behavior in attempts to satisfy their intense addictions. Again, an internal attribution leads to criminal behavior.

Likewise, external attributions like poor employment prospects and blockage through labelling may very well lead to criminal behavior. The perception that one is unable to gain employment and is obstructed in their attempts to find work, may lead to criminal behavior. It appears that, for many, criminal behavior is a rational choice. Shut out from the traditional legal sources of financial gain; offered at best menial employment; some street youth view criminal behavior as a more profitable enterprise in comparison to their sparse legal alternatives.

AFFECTIVE REACTIONS

Another avenue researchers have been encouraged to explore surrounds people's emotional reactions to their unemployment (Feather, 1990). It is suggested that being unemployed may have some effect on people's emotional states which may, in turn, influence their behavior. Affective states that have been explored in other research on unemployment include guilt, anger, helplessness, and depression (Feather, 1990). How these states impinge on criminality is to be determined empirically. However, we speculated earlier that those who experienced guilt, helplessness, and depression as a result of their unemployment, would be less at risk for criminal behavior. It is expected that these passive types of reactions may lead to other behaviors including, possibly, drug and alcohol use. Alternatively, those who have little emotional reaction in terms of these states are speculated to be more at risk for illegal activities since the absence of a negative reaction indicates a deficient bond to the labour market.

The role of anger in criminal behavior appears to be less straightforward. From a strain perspective we would guess that those who express anger over their unemployment would be more inclined to engage in criminal behavior as an expression of their discontent. Yet, from a control perspective we might argue, that, similar to the other affective variables, the less reaction experienced, the greater the tendency for criminal behavior. These youth lack commitment to, and belief in, the conventional system and will be unbothered by their lack of employment. In other words, the dearth of an affective reaction may indicate deficient bonding leading to a freedom to undertake criminal behavior.

The youth under study were provided the opportunity to express and describe the four affective states: guilt, anger, helplessness, and depression as well as their possible to connection to their unemployment. All respondents were first asked if they felt guilty about their unemployment. Table 5.29 shows that almost 42 % (N=82) reported feeling guilty about their unemployment. However, there were more members of the sample who did not feel guilty about being unemployed (N=96) and thus, according to our theoretical speculations, at risk for criminal behavior. Nineteen respondents reported neutral affective states on this measure.

Fewer respondents felt angry about their unemployment than felt guilty. Seventy-one respondents (36%) expressed anger over their unemployment. The majority of the respondents either disagreed or indicated a neutral affect on this measure.

In comparison to our first two measures, only a limited number of the respondents confessed to feeling helpless (see Table 5.31). Fifty-six respondents indicated that they had felt helpless about not having a job. A slightly smaller number, (fifty-one respondents) expressed depression over their unemployment (see Table 5.32).

These distributions reveal that the majority of respondents, in each case, have little emotional reaction to their unemployment. If this is the case, and the wanting emotional reaction is linked to criminal behavior, then much of the sample are prime candidates for criminal activities. Even in the situation where anger, rather than lack of anger, might lead to criminal responses out of frustration, there are a number of youth who would appear theoretically inclined to engage in illegal activities. An examination of the open-ended responses might help us elucidate our initial conjectural estimations. In particular, we will explore the issues that appear to induce negative emotional reactions to unemployment. Our investigation will then proceed to probe for the reasons why unemployment fails to generate unfavourable emotional responses amongst some of the sample. We begin by exploring the role societal expectations have in generating negative emotions.

TABLE 5.29
FEEL GUILTY ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
STRONGLY AGREE	23	11.7
AGREE	59	29.9
NEITHER/NOR	19	9.6
DISAGREE	79	40.1
STRONGLY DISAGREE	17	8.6
DK/NR	3	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.30
FEEL ANGRY ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
STRONGLY AGREE	24	12.2
AGREE	47	23.9
NEITHER/NOR	13	6.6
DISAGREE	98	49.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	15	7.6
DK/NR	3	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.31
FEEL HELPLESS ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
STRONGLY AGREE	12	6.1
AGREE	44	22.3
NEITHER/NOR	14	7.1
DISAGREE	110	55.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	17	8.6
DK/NR	3	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 5.32
FEEL DEPRESSED ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
STRONGLY AGREE	14	7.1
AGREE	37	18.8
NEITHER/NOR	10	5.1
DISAGREE	120	60.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	16	8.1
DK/NR	3	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.0

NEGATIVE AFFECT, SOCIETAL EXPECTATIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A number of the youth's negative emotional reactions to unemployment appear to stem from the inability to fulfill societal expectations of work, self-sufficiency and material success. A pattern emerges when we sift through the qualitative responses of the sample. First, it appears that, in support of research question 4 C, those who continue to have some commitment to employment and conventional society are the ones who experience the negative emotional reactions of guilt, helplessness, and depression to their unemployment. Many of those who conveyed this negative affect over their unemployment related their feelings directly to their lack of employment. They outlined a societal expectation whereby employment was a required activity. The inability to locate employment signalled a failure to meet their societal commitments and created feelings of guilt and shame. However, even more important was the perception of the lack of accomplishment and progress. Cumulation of success was important, in addition to mere employment. This seemed to fuel and heighten the guilt as the respondents replayed the scenarios that led to their current circumstances.

> **Because I'm 18 and I should be able to have a job. I'm working hard but I'm not succeeding (152).**

> **I think I should have a job, support myself. I don't feel right not having a job (185).**
>
> **Because I'm young I could be working. Instead I'm here rolling tobacco and carry my house in a bag (060).**
>
> **Cause I could be making something out of myself instead of sitting around being a bum all the time (013).**
>
> **I mean what I believe as a grown man you have to be working or going to school. Those are the two ways. Its hard to go to school. Its hard to work. You've got to do something. For me its an embarrassment. Life doesn't mean nothing for me. Eat, sleep, eat, sleep. It makes me crazy (118).**
>
> **Well because I figure here I am 24 years old, all the guys I know have a career or a start on a career not living in the hostel, a down and out bum (086).**

For some of the respondents, guilt was directly related to the amount of effort they put forth searching for employment. These youth admitted their attempts to locate jobs were less than strenuous and often nonexistent. These respondents placed less emphasis on the societal expectation of employment, and more on the societal expectation of effort. They reasoned that undertaking the job search would exonerate them from guilt. It was not the failure to find employment itself that led to their guilt. Rather, it was their neglect in exerting themselves in a thorough expedition to discover employment that gave rise to feelings of guilt and shame.

> **1 feel guilty because I could be trying harder (054).**
>
> **I just figure I feel bad about being on social assistance and I feel if I really wanted one badly I could get a shit job at MacDonalds or something (146).**
>
> **I'm not doing anything for myself. Like I should have a job right now if I really tried to get one (177).**
>
> **I should have a job by now. I haven't really been trying. I have the capabilities. I'm courteous, flexible, its just my fault no one else's.**

The depth and strength of the societal expectations of employment and effort was demonstrated by the respondents who communicated guilt over their inability to support themselves.

This was particularly true of those who were on state support. They felt deficient taking social assistance or borrowing money from friends and relatives. There was a feeling of "not paying their own way;" of taking money that did not belong to them; of making others compensate them for their failures. They described themselves as "burdens" and "unproductive." Their sense of guilt seemed augmented by the perception that despite being capable of holding employment they were unemployed and unable to sufficiently sustain themselves without help.

> **Because I don't think people should have to pay my way. I'm old enough to pay my own(197).**
>
> **Because I actually should be doing something, but I'm not. I'm living off the system. (070).**
>
> **Its like taking money from someone's working. I'm living off someone else's money. I don't like that (39).**
>
> **Pretty bad just not being able to pay my own way and not having money to help out and stuff (031).**
>
> **Because I don't want to be a burden on the society (042).**
>
> **Because I'm an unproductive member of society (058).**
>
> **Cause I'm not really helping out the system by living on welfare (084).**

Other respondents experienced guilt over their lack of resources and poverty. They appeared incapacitated by their situations and projected an inability to deal with a future that offered little prospect. Rather than being socially stained from receiving welfare, they were ostracized for being even lower on the social scale. They felt wrong for their poverty. They internalized a sense of shame because they had an absolute paucity of available means and capabilities with which to meet their economic, food and shelter difficulties. Yet it went beyond that. There was desperation along side the guilt for these respondents, a mix that made these particular youth both urgent and hopeless.

The shortage of food, clothing, shelter and other resources was also cited by respondents as leading to depression and helplessness. Poverty rendered them powerless. There were feelings that they had lost control and were unable to alter their situations. Some were caught in an inextricable drift. Others seem paralyzed by their poverty. Again, some of the youths emphasized their inability to take care of themselves.

In contrast to those who expressed guilt, despondency and despair, a number of respondents were enraged over their lack of resources. But like the others there was a sense of desperation. However, in this case one could easily imagine the angry engaging in criminal behavior to overcome their sparse situations.

> **I know I have no jobs and no way of money and that (022).**
>
> **Cause I need money for an apartment and other necessities (068).**
>
> **I hardly have any money. I always feel broke. I don't have enough for a smoke (034).**
>
> **Because I think I can't go out to do the things I want to do. I don't have any money to get something to eat (096).**
>
> **I don't have enough money to make ends meet sometimes (039).**
>
> **Cause I haven't got any Social Assistance yet and I need a job to get ahead (183).**
>
> **Because I need a job badly and I don't know what I'm going to do if I don't find one (164).**
>
> **Cause I had nothing. I didn't even have a place to stay (074).**
>
> **Cause I didn't have money. No stable home, I was moving too much (027).**

Thus, absolute poverty and the inability to meet societal expectations of employment and self support appear to generate negative reactions across a spectrum of emotions. Their reactions are based on their failure to live up to the societal expectations of employment, self support, and the accumulation of material goods as indicators of success. Instead, these respondents are stuck in severe circumstances that do nothing but display their failure.

Again it important to emphasize the idea that negative emotional reactions to unemployment in terms of guilt, helplessness and depression appear to signal some commitment and attachment to the labour market and conventional society. They are not merely negative affective reactions to adverse life circumstances, for as will be demonstrated later, others living under the same conditions express little negative emotional reaction to these situations. If it is true that negative affective responses are related to a bonding then we would expect these youth to be less at risk for criminal behavior than their peers despite their poverty. They cling to the societal expectations and the conventional means of achieving these. In contrast, those who are induced to anger by their poverty may be more at risk for criminal behavior as they act out their frustration and discontent.

NEGATIVE AFFECT AND DIFFICULTIES GAINING EMPLOYMENT

Another area of concern that appeared to generate reactions across a range of emotions was the failed job search. Some youths articulated feelings of helplessness. For some these sensations originated from their lack of skill, education and experience. Without the credentials to find work, and with no means to gain these attributes, the youths felt trapped in their unemployment with little hope of rescue.

> **Its because I couldn't compete with the experiences with the applicants that came along because I have no secondary education whatsoever (152).**
>
> **I feel helpless cause I have no education you know (174).**
>
> **Living in the city is different. You've got have the papers, resumes etc. You've got to have the background to get a job (004).**

Similarly, a few youths disclosed the difficulties they experienced as a result of their criminal records. Parameters were established on the types of employment made available to them as a result of their stigmatization. The reluctance of employers to hire them, and the respondents' powerlessness to change their histories, made finding a job difficult. The odds against them, with little prospect of improvement in the foreseeable future, these youth recognized the possibilities of long term unemployment.

> **Cause I have a criminal record and I know most employers don't hire people with criminal records. I felt useless (027).**
>
> **Because my criminal record limits jobs I can look for (064).**
>
> **Its kind of my fault and they're not really looking for criminals to go work there (120).**

For others this helplessness extended from their lives on the street. They carried the perception that they were unworthy of employment or that employers would frown upon their applications because of their backgrounds. Others noted their street experience did not include acquiring the skills and knowledge necessary to apply for employment. In fact, they argued that they felt helpless because they did not know how to apply for, or get a job. Lacking confidence and knowledge, these respondents never got off the starting line in their job searches. Instead they were caught in a situation where they felt destined to remain.

> **Cause I felt cause where I came from and who I was I couldn't get a job (170).**
>
> **Cause I really don't know how to get a job or nothing (160).**
>
> **I feel helpless because I've been on the streets since I was 12 and just not knowing what to do (183).**

However, the key to many of the youths' feelings of impotence were the unsuccessful legitimate attempts made to capture employment. Many perceived their efforts as superlative, exhaustive and complete, not to be surpassed by themselves. Yet these efforts failed to procure employment and suggested to the youths that finding a job was beyond their control. Their efforts failing to influence their outcomes, the youths slowly discontinued their searches.

> **Cause I've tried to get a job. It just doesn't work (191).**
>
> **Because I try so hard. Hard as I can. Still can't get anything.**
>
> **Cause there is nothing I can do about it. There is nothing I can do. I tried (166).**
>
> **Cause there's times you can't get jobs and you go no one's going to hire me or what (131).**
>
> **Because I didn't think I was capable of getting a job. That no one wanted me (027).**

> **Cause the future is bleak man in the job market. There are no jobs and you could have a university education and still have no jobs or make 5 bucks an hour cause there's a lack of jobs (091).**

The dissonance between effort and result also generated anger for some respondents. In addition to the apparent lack of connection between effort and reward, respondents were particularly upset with their treatment from potential employers. Many perceived that their efforts to clean up their appearance and to actively search went unappreciated. For the youth, these endeavors were viewed as major sacrifices. The lack of courtesy on the part of employers to inform respondents on the success or failure of their applications cut deep. Their undertakings rarely rewarded, the youths felt indignant.

> **I can't find work. I've applied at places, I've left phone numbers at places and they haven't called back (022).**
>
> **Cause I try and I try to get a job. Dress nice, be polite, still nothing. Sometimes I think its because I'm a teenager.(155).**
>
> **I do all the effort I can do and I get no reply from it. Its like you wasted that time for nothing (050).**
>
> **Because I didn't think I was capable of getting a job. That no one wanted me (027).**
>
> **Cause they won't give me a job and then they ask me why I have such a long record (060).**

A small number of youths were critical of the country's failure to provide employment for its youth. There was a feeling that employment was unavailable even to those willing to work. They sensed being "duped" as they were continually informed that work was available for those who got out there and tried. Yet the respondents' experience contradicted the ideology they were being "fed." There was little employment readily obtainable for people with their skills. In fact, there were few jobs accessible for those with better skills. This logic produced anger in these respondents.

> **Well because I figure I was raised in Canada, this is the place to live and there is no work even if you want to work. No job even if you want one (086).**

> **Well you try and get yourself out of it trying to get yourself off the street. But society is holding you back. They're telling the younger generation we want you to live on welfare the rest of your life (084).**
>
> **Because fuck, society has a fucked up way of looking at things. They do nothing for people like me who've had trouble with the law. Like they get on TV and don't create jobs and give them to someone else. If you have no money to go to school, you're fucked, and even if you do go to school you're fucked (091).**

Together from these responses we see a group of youth who desire employment, and search for employment, but who are ignored, made to feel inadequate and tossed onto a scrapheap with the rest of the unemployed. For the helpless we see some attachment and commitment to the labour market but one that is tenuous. They may abandon their job searches and withdraw from the conventional world.

In the angry we see youths who are educated through failure that the labour market is not fair; effort and hard work do not necessarily lead to success. These youth appear ready to abandon their job searches and explore other viable options possibly including crime in their behavioral investigations. Yet, their anger also indicates an attachment to the labour market. If they had little concern about their unemployment there would be little of the negative affect displayed. Instead, in spite of their failure, there continues to be a desire to obtain legitimate employment.

NEGATIVE AFFECT, TEDIUM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A third area that provoked negative reactions to unemployment was the lack of activity and structure in the respondents' days. It was the tedium that led to their anger: the prospect of spending another day without meaningful activity, the increased time to think about their situations; the unwanted opportunity to dwell on their poverty; and the lack of a schedule to structure their day. All this served to incense the respondents.

> **Cause I hate this. Not doing something with my life. And I feel bored (150).**
>
> **Well cause I need money. It all comes down to have something to do for the day (060).**

> **I'm a little choked I don't have work cause then I get lazy. I get pretty fucking lazy when I don't work. I don't want to climb out of bed (147).**
>
> **Cause during the day I do nothing. I'm climbing the walls. I want to do something or else I'll go nuts (045).**
>
> **I'm angry at myself. I don't like to be down without a job it makes me feel bad (029).**
>
> **I wasn't working. I wasn't doing nothing and I felt like I could be doing something (126).**
>
> **I don't like sitting around doing nothing all day (039).**

Others connected their depression to the boredom and lack of structure within their lives. Time seemed to pass slower than when unemployed. In fact, some equated their days with the time they had spent in prison waiting to be released. The extra time allowed, perhaps even demanded, the youths' minds to wander and reflect on their life circumstances, deadening their affective states to the point of being downcast and dejected.

> **I wake up some mornings seems like you're marking time (044).**
>
> **Too much time on my hands (012).**
>
> **Sometimes just cause I think I could be out doing stuff. I guess I get depressed when I got no money. You've got nothing to do right (081).**
>
> **Cause no money to have fun, days are longer, no money to go out meet friends (017).**

Evidence of these dispirited feelings could be found in the responses of those youth who described how their dissatisfaction with unemployment had affected their feelings about themselves. The youth described changes in their emotional sensations that they attributed to their lack of work. They began to feel ineffectual, inutile (useless), and lethargic.

> **Because its kind of a dissatisfied life. I feel helpless in a way (030).**

> **Cause I don't feel like any other normal person (084).**
>
> **I want to work but I don't want to. Leaves me feeling nowhere (013).**
>
> **It kind of brought my self confidence down. It never gave me enough energy to do nothing at all (002).**

The inactivity leading to depression and the decrease in self-esteem points to a passive reaction to unemployment and suggests that these respondents are unlikely candidates for criminal behavior. However, as we will discover later, it may be the case that these respondents engage in criminal behavior in an attempt to recapture a sense of agency: a feeling of taking control of their lives again. Crime may also emerge as a form of recreation. Illegal activities may provide the emotional thrill and excitement that allows them to overcome the boredom and dullness of their days.

Together, we see that societal expectations, the discrepancy between effort and outcome, and the inactivity that unemployment breeds, all lead to negative emotional reactions from a minority of the respondents. Where unemployment invites guilt, helplessness and depression there are indications that these, as speculated in research question 4 C, lead to a passive withdrawl. Thus, we would expect that these youth are less likely to be involved in crime. Furthermore, in many instances, these passive responses were linked to a continued attachment and commitment to the labour market. Again, this would decrease the probability that these youths would engage in illegal behaviors.

In contrast, the anger unemployment produces in some of the respondents would appear to call for more proactive types of behavior including crime. We see youth who at one time aspired for employment but through repeated experiences of failure react with expressions of injustice and discontent. While these youth appear more at risk for criminal behavior than their passive peers, it is still possible that it is those who express little emotional reaction (including no anger) to their unemployment who are most at risk for crime. It may be the case that the expression of anger indicates an attachment to the labour market. These respondents desire employment and are dissatisfied with joblessness. In contrast, those who express little disappointment over their unemployment, may have little interest in the labour market, and few stakes in conformity all of which leaves them more vulnerable to illegal activities. Thus, from this perspective anger might lead to behaviors other than criminal activities.

THE LACK OF AFFECT, INDIFFERENCE TO THE LABOUR MARKET AND UNEMPLOYMENT

As discovered earlier in our perusal of the frequency distributions, the majority of the respondents expressed little affective response to their unemployment. It was suggested that the lack of reaction signaled a detachment from the labour market and conventional society that would leave these youth extremely at risk for criminal conduct. We now begin our examination of why unemployment failed to induce emotional responses in the respondents.

A dominant theme to emerge from the open-ended data was the youths' indifference to the labour market. Several of the respondents related in no uncertain and terse terms that "they did not care." This response was utilized by those who explained that they felt no guilt, anger, or depression over their unemployment. Several pointed out that there was little reason to be guilty, angry or depressed. Many appeared puzzled by the question and looked to relish their lack of work. They struck one as having adjusted to their lack of employment and exhibited minimal signs of guilt, depression, anger or bitterness over their situation.

> **I just don't feel guilty cause I don't care about it you know. (174).**
>
> **Cause it didn't matter. It didn't matter if I had a job or not (099).**
>
> **Cause I don't really give a shit (157).**
>
> **Its a state of mind. If someone thinks you're a bum its their problem. If you don't feel bad so there. Fuck them (045).**
>
> **Cause I just don't care. I just cruise through things. If nothing else I'll go to temp labour(149).**
>
> **I don't feel the need. I don't feel bugged about being unemployed. Its not something that bugs me (139).**
>
> **Just not nothing to get angry at (023).**
>
> **Doesn't really faze me at all (075).**
>
> **I have no reason to get mad. Its not something that will upset me (025).**
>
> **Jobs aren't important to me that much (035).**

> **I'm not mad I don't have a job. It doesn't bother me (052).**
>
> **Doesn't really matter if I have a job or not (107).**

Some of those who explained that they were not depressed about their unemployment justified it as a "fact of life." It was a condition that most everyone experienced and was to be tolerated. Experience made the situation more understandable and bearable. The condition was little cause for depression.

> **Its not that depressing (023).**
>
> **I don't care. It doesn't bother me (049).**
>
> **Cause I don't care. I don't give a fuck (200).**
>
> **Whats to feel depressed about. There's nothing to feel depressed about in my mind (158).**
>
> **Just it doesn't bring me down. Its just a fact of life. I don't got a job cause I'm not trying (051).**
>
> **I can't see any reason to be depressed about it. Its a fact of life you go through it (029).**
>
> **I've been through this before so I've learned how to handle it. Its part of life. The sooner you learn to live with it the better (028).**
>
> **Why get depressed. Its not that big a deal. Its just life (085).**
>
> **I've been through this before so I've learned how to handle it (008)**

Some respondents were quick to point to their apathy. Again they reasoned that since they had not made any consistent or serious attempts to obtain employment, they could not rightly be angry or guilty over their failure. They accepted the blame for their situation and like many of their street peers seemed unconcerned. Perhaps their search efforts were curbed by projections for failure based on experience. Or maybe they never made attempts at locating employment because they did not really desire a job. In any case, the societal expectation of effort did not impinge on them to the point where it illicited guilt as it did for some of the respondents described earlier.

> **You can't really feel guilty if you're not out looking severely and don't get one (019).**
>
> **Cause I'm not doing anything about it (050).**
>
> **In a way, I'm just to lazy to look for one(013).**
>
> **Its not like I tried to get one and never got one. I never tried to get one so you can't be angry about that (187).**
>
> **No cause I don't try that hard to find a job. I just try once and awhile (193).**
>
> **Its really my own fault. There is no one to be angry at (186).**

Many respondents indicated that it was their decision not to work or seek employment. In contrast to some of the above respondents who experienced negative emotions due to their failure to meet societal expectations, these youth argued that they were not required to work. To work, or not to work was a personal choice and one could not be faulted if one preferred not to work. There was little reason to be guilty or angry over joblessness because it was a state they found positive and had wished to achieve. The legitimacy of the selection of nonemployment over employment was strengthened if the respondent demonstrated that he could survive without taking from the system. There was a sense of no harm, no foul. This presents an interesting interpretation since the reports of several respondents indicated that a great deal of income was acquired illegally through property or violent crime. Did the victims of their crimes enter into their equations of harm? The answer seemed to be no. It did not matter how resources became available, the key was not to burden the social services system.

> **Cause I really don't have to get a job if I don't want to (069).**
>
> **Because I think I shouldn't have to work if I don't want to (082).**
>
> **No cause I hate working. The only type of job I'd like is work in a morgue. I'm kind of into death (033).**

> **Cause I don't really need a job. Well I do but I don't really want one (180).**
>
> **Cause I don't have to get a job if I don't want to. Its my own free will (069).**
>
> **Cause no one's forcing me to get a job (112).**
>
> **I don't owe it to anyone to work. As long as I'm not on welfare I'm not taking anything from anyone (025).**
>
> **Cause I still support myself and I don't live off welfare (052).**

There were some respondents who were more concerned with meeting the requirements of various addictions and abuses than with their unemployment. Again there was the impression that these youth did not care for employment, or about unemployment. The use of these substances became a goal in itself, over time developing into another problem the respondents had to confront on a daily basis.

> **Cause I was too drunk or stoned to really care (016).**
>
> **Cause I always got some dope and money when I need it (106).**
>
> **Because at the moment I make enough money for booze (133).**
>
> **I'm just in a fucking stage in my life where I just party. I really don't give a shit (090).**

THE LACK OF AFFECT, ALTERNATIVE LABOUR MARKET AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A considerable number of the youth pointed out that there were alternative routes to money and these methods successfully provided them with necessities. They were proud to display their ability to survive without the benefit of legal paid employment. There were those who stressed the profitability of crime over legitimate work. This meant they were not forced to take the low wage, low skilled employment that they disliked. The rewards in selling drugs, property crime and some violent crime outweighed those available to the youth in the jobs they were qualified for. The prospect of a large payoff for limited effort made up for any of the advantages available in a job. Some rationalized their behavior by arguing that their criminal behavior was the equivalent to employment. The time, effort, and knowhow all required in the legitimate work place were utilized in an illegal setting for a more profitable means. They were successful entrepreneurs in an alternative economy.

These youth had sufficient money at their disposal to choose how to live. That is, while others were forced to live on the streets, these youth appeared to have, over time, made the decision to make their living off the street. While many lacked domiciles, their activities provided them with the freedom to be temporarily off the street if they wished, as well as the opportunity to feed, clothe, and amuse themselves. While the money never appeared to last very long, they were significantly better off than their more law abiding street peers in terms of money and the freedom of choice that came along with it.

Those who were able to support themselves through alternative means revealed none of the negative affective states displayed by their peers. There was no guilt, anger, helplessness, or depression expressed over unemployment. Employment was neither desired nor required. Unemployment neither agitated nor annoyed. It was an activity foreign to their plans of existence. Criminal activity was accepted as the highway to follow for these youth lacking unemployment. It was survival. These youth had examined their life conditions and determined that crime paid. One could live and persist doing crime. One could not being unemployed.

> **I need a job but I don't need a job because the money I get off the streets is enough to get me by. So a job is just to go straight quote unquote (035).**
>
> **Because I could make more money selling drugs than working for 5 bucks an hour(066).**
>
> **Cause I don't feel guilty about it cause I hate flipping burgers. If you're going to have a job you might as well be doing something you like, like robbing people (033).**
>
> **Cause I'm basically getting by. Any job I'm going to get is a minimum wage job (120).**
>
> **Well I sell dope. If I got dope I got money in my pocket. I got friends who work for 5-6 bucks an hour. I make more in 15-20 minutes what they make in a day. Money keeps me happy. I can take care of myself on the streets. I've been on the streets since I've left home (090).**

> **Cause I can pretty well take care of myself. What needs to be done needs to be done. If I don't have it I don't have it. Its a fact of life (031).**
>
> **Cause I know how to survive. If I want something I go out and get it. I have money and I make a living (053).**
>
> **Well I had money coming in steady from drugs, so there's no use in worrying about it. Just took the time off and relaxed (103).**
>
> **Cause I always have money still. I may not have a paycheck but I still got money. And I got my money (135).**

THE LACK OF AFFECT, EMPLOYMENT AVAILABILITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Despite the general feeling expressed by respondents that unemployment was not of great importance in their lives, a large number of them evoked a sense of assuredness and control in their ability to obtain employment. Sixty-five of the respondents were confident that they could get a job if they genuinely desired one or if they actually attempted to find one. Many indicated that serious searches would uncover employment. Again the suggestion from many was that they did not want or need employment. Yet there was a air of cockiness in the responses that painted a picture of available employment to be found effortlessly or at the very most with a short, intense search. There was also the impression that many of these abundant jobs were to be found at the lower end of the labour market and while easy to obtain, they were not the first choice for most of the respondents. In fact, it was this type of employment that the youth abhorred and rationalized their unemployment by arguing that they were not going to lower themselves to such standards. Thus, while the option of low skill, low wage employment was viewed as an alternative that negated a feeling of helplessness, it was an ersatz substitute that most never realistically considered. The belief that employment was plentiful also inhibited the development of depression for some of the respondents. Again they appeared to hint that their unemployment was directly related to their weak search efforts.

> **Cause I know there's work out there. It's just a matter of finding (147).**
>
> **Well cause I know I could get off my butt and look for a job (169).**

> **There are jobs out there I just got to be able to find them. I have to be at the right place at the right time basically (041).**
>
> **I'm not really helpless. I can always find a job somewhere whether part-time or fulltime. Plus most times when I'm unemployed its of my own choice anyways (012).**
>
> **If I really wanted to I could put 40 hours a week getting a job. I could get an interview. If I had an interview I usually get a job. But the question is do I want it (044).**
>
> **Because I know if I really put my head to it I could get a job. If I could get 100% into looking for a toke I find it. If I put 100% into looking for job I'll find it. That's my biggest downfall. Drugs (063).**
>
> **Cause I know I can still get a job if I have some experience. I'll just get a Macdonlds job or something (187).**
>
> **I could lower myself to work at Arby's. I don't want to (042).**
>
> **I'm always trying. I can always get a job. Bouncing at gigs. Working concessions. Shit jobs so I can get cash (101).**

In contrast to the perception of available employment, numerous respondents contended that their unemployment was the result of economic forces. Not being at fault, they did not internalize any negative feelings. This response was particularly popular amongst those who denied feeling guilty about their unemployment. Many commented that they were not alone, that huge numbers were in similar predicaments. Some youth went on to suggest that a considerable portion of the unemployed were far more qualified than themselves, a sentiment which appeared to make their own troubles more tolerable. In a sense, the high unemployment that included the skilled and educated legitimized their own experience. This provided stronger evidence that remote forces influenced unemployment which in turn relieved the youths of self-blame. Had the rate been lower many of them may have internalized their feelings and taken it upon themselves to claim some of the responsibility for their unemployment.

> **You can't really do anything about the job situation. As for Edmonton there is probably 20,000 people in the same boat as I am.(050).**
>
> **There's lots of people that don't have jobs (190).**
>
> **Personally, I don't think I should feel get a job since others more capable, more experienced but can't get a job. So why feel guilty if no jobs out there (028).**
>
> **I don't feel guilty. I know its my fault I don't have an education but I also realize its a tough job market. 1000's of people are out of work. People with more education than me (041).**
>
> **Cause there's so many people out there who have more education than I do (021).**

THE LACK OF AFFECT, SOCIETAL EXPECTATIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A small number of respondents argued that they had been employed and were now in essence taking a break. For some unemployment was "earned," something to be enjoyed for the moment. Others spoke of recent unemployment, suggesting that the emotional reaction to joblessness had yet to set in. For these respondents, their work backgrounds provided a buffer against guilt. Their previous history of employment provided evidence of a work ethic and demonstrated competence. It provided evidence to outsiders, and reassured themselves, that they were productive members of society. Yet in their answers they appear to relish their unemployment. Work was a necessary evil, but it was certainly less appealing than unemployment. It was the periods of unemployment, not those of labour that were gratifying. It is likely that they reluctantly return to the labour market only after exhausting both their state assistance and illegal avenues. Thus, while their previous employment relieved them of guilt, there was little genuine attachment to the labour market.

> **I've been employed for five years straight. This is the first time unemployed in 5 years. I'm enjoying the time off (001).**
>
> **Not really, I've worked hard enough (057).**
>
> **You work hard for your unemployment (081).**
>
> **I've worked before and I thought I deserved a little bit of a break (130).**

> **Because I work so hard in the summer time I just take off in the winter time. Drinking time (082).**
>
> **Cause I'm only unemployed for a short while. Just being laid off (072).**

Finally, there were those youth who argued for the maintenance of positive attitudes. These respondents seemed convinced that this was necessary for mental health. It was a method that enabled one to survive the episodes of unemployment and poverty. A person reacting in a strong and negative fashion would only do themselves harm. With time to dwell on the negative aspects of unemployment, there was a danger of sinking into an endless abyss of guilt, anger, and melancholy. By brooding, or stewing over their unemployment, the person would lose the desire and motivation to further seek work and therefore extend the negative event and in turn increase the guilt, anger, or depression, creating a vicious cycle. The point was to avoid these negative reactions, keep a positive stable attitude, and continue searching with the hope that work is around the corner. Failing to adhere to these recommendations signalled a difficult, unfavourable unemployment experience. These respondents were anomalies. They revealed few negative emotional sentiments while maintaining some commitment to the labour market. As a result, unlike the others who expressed little sentiment, they are less at risk for criminal behavior because they do retain some bond to the conventional society. In a sense these youths have bought into the work ethic and sincerely believe that effort will pay off and lead to employment. It is this faith that keeps them going. It is not how you feel but how hard you try. And one must continue to try. By continuing to actively search for a job, maintaining job aspirations and expectations and espousing the work ethic, these youths' commitment remains high in spite of the fact of unemployment.

> **People go through life thinking down on their lives especially on the streets. You can't go through life always down on your life (029).**
>
> **If you're unemployed you look at what you can do. But you shouldn't be ashamed of being unemployed. It just means you've got to look harder (003).**
>
> **Anger is an asshole. Get angry and never get motivated (026).**
>
> **Its no sense being angry. It screws you up looking for other employment (012).**

> I just try to keep myself on an even keel. I can just keep knocking at it. That's all I can do (041).
>
> Its just something I don't feel depressed about. If I feel depressed one day in a week I'll just be depressed all week. Then you just lay around. So it forces you to go out and look for a job (063).
>
> Because depression doesn't help the whole situation out I think (042).
>
> I like to keep myself level. I find it easy to deal with life if I keep an even head (041).
>
> I'll just be putting myself more downer if I get depressed. Get into the bars and shit like that if I get depressed (098).
>
> I'm never depressed. I'm always happy. You get depressed you die (078).
>
> Cause depression sucks. If you get depressed, you stay depressed for as long as the problem is around. You'll never get a job cause you're too depressed to get up and go get one (092).

Together, the four missing emotional reactions to unemployment generally reveal an estrangement and disengagement from the labour market. The alienation from conventional society is so great that unemployment has little effect over emotion. These youths have little concern about their employment status, or the dividends of labour. Their experiences inside and outside the labour market have enabled them to dismiss the negative aspects of unemployment and allowed them to survive emotionally and financially by utilizing resources available outside the legitimate job market. The profit of drugs and crime saves them from the absolute poverty, providing them an outlet and freedom to survive physically and emotionally. They have little loyalty to a labour market that offers them work they dislike, pays them little and throws them on the scrap heap at a moment's notice, and then expects them to return to similar environments when their labour is required. In its place they have found money that is abundant and easy to make, the pitfalls of violence and prison rationalized as part of doing business. The overall positives far outweigh the negatives. The alternatives are depression, helplessness, guilt, anger, starvation, and homelessness interspersed with short-term, poor jobs that will eventually lead back to emotional turmoil, starvation and homelessness.

While it appears that this interpretation supports research question 4 C and the exhibiting of guilt, helplessness, and depression as indicators of societal bonding that inhibit criminal behavior, research question 4 D and the role of anger is still somewhat ambiguous. Earlier we conjectured that anger would be acted on in the form of criminal behavior in a display of frustration and discontent. However, it appears more likely that it is those who express little displeasure with unemployment who are more likely to engage in crime. It would seem that the expression of anger indicates, in an alternative form, an attachment to conventional society. People may express their anger but rarely act on it. Another plausible explanation is that an angry response to unemployment may manifest itself in only certain types of crime. In particular, violent crimes or certain varieties of property crimes (e.g. vandalism). However, we might expect that these types of responses are relatively sporadic. A state where a person is constantly angry, and spends his day fighting people and ruining property suggests a severely unstable individual, probably beyond the type of emotional reaction we are measuring. Nevertheless, the role of anger is still open for debate and subject to other methods of empirical investigation.

It is now to the analysis of these criminal activities of the street youth that the discussion proceeds.

CHAPTER SIX

CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES AND SUBSTANCE USE

CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

The analysis has moved through a number of different areas. One theme that appears to run through them is the admitted criminal behavior of the youths under study. Several respondents readily acknowledged in their open-ended responses their participation in illegal activities. Many confessed to accumulating large sums of money and lobbied the superiority of their activities over legal employment. To more fully grasp the reasoning behind the youths' responses, the examination now moves into a more in-depth analysis of the criminal behavior within the sample.

Respondents were asked to self-report their participation in various types of criminal behaviors. For each offense they were required to calculate the number of times they had committed the act in the year prior to the interview. They were then asked to think back to the last time they had committed that particular offense and then requested to supply the reason for its commission. The results reveal an impressive amount of criminal behavior within the sample and provide interesting accounts, causes and arguments for their commission.

The average age at which the respondents committed their first offense was 11. This suggests that many of the youth had some experience with at least minor crime at a very young age. Another indicator of this early activity was the finding that only eight respondents could testify that when they were still living at home none of their friends had been picked up by the police. In light of these findings we should not be surprised to find a considerable amount of criminal behavior within the sample. Recall that in research question 1 G it was suggested that this early criminal behavior might serve to isolate the youth from conventional society which in turn would lead to a greater risk of criminal behavior. Further, it was argued that this early criminal experience becomes a valuable resource that can be accessed on the street when more conventional alternatives are unavailable. Therefore, the greater the prior criminal behavior the greater the likelihood the youth will engage in criminal behavior when unemployed and on the street.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, a number of different indices were constructed to measure crime. The first index measure of total crime is simply a summary measure where all offense categories are aggregated. Two other indices were constructed to aggregate offenses with similar Canadian Criminal Code definitions. These were the property crime index and the violent crime index. A final variable was utilized to measure the sale of illegal drugs.

TABLE 6.1
NUMBER OF OFFENSES PER OFFENDER TOTAL CRIME INDEX

	TOTAL NUMBER COMMITTED	AVERAGE PER OFFENDER	PERCENT OF TYPE OFFENSE	PERCENT OF TOTAL OFFENSES
PROPERTY CRIME	**69570**	**348.0**	**100.0**	**20.7**
THEFT FROM VEHICLE	39302	196.5	56.5	11.7
BREAK AND ENTERS	5724	28.6	8.2	1.7
B AND E'S TO SLEEP	1523	7.6	2.2	.4
THEFT UNDER $50	8143	40.7	11.7	2.4
THEFT OVER $50	8413	42.0	12.1	2.5
THEFT OF FOOD	3551	17.8	5.1	1.1
CAR THEFT	2914	14.5	4.2	.9
VIOLENT CRIME	**16443**	**82.2**	**100.0**	**4.9**
ROBBERY	9575	48.0	58.2	2.9
ASSAULT	3138	15.7	19.1	.9
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	1554	7.8	9.5	.5
GROUP FIGHT	2176	11.0	13.2	.7
DRUG BUSINESS	**240357**	**1201.8**	**100.0**	**71.8**
OTHER OFFENSES	**8266**	**41.3**	**100.0**	**2.5**
PROSTITUTION	2288	11.4	27.7	.7
VANDALISM	5889	29.5	71.2	1.8
ARSON	89	.4	1.1	.0
TOTAL	**334636**	**1673.2**	**-**	**100.0**

The results reveal that this sample was responsible for an enormous amount of crime. The 200 respondents reported a total of 334,636 offenses in the previous year (see Table 6.1). This averaged out to 1673 offenses per respondent. While these numbers appear extreme, they are somewhat comparable to the offense totals reported in other work utilizing an urban street sample of serious chronic offenders (Inciardi et al., 1993). Inciardi et al. (1993) report that the most serious offenders in their sample averaged over 1400 total offenses.

These numbers dwarf the average offense totals of self-report research utilizing random samples including those with "serious offenders" (Elliot et al., 1989). However, it is obvious that our sample is more representative of serious delinquents than any sample that can be located through a random sample survey of the general youth population. For example, the latter will invariably locate only a small number of serious offenders due to the relative rarity of extreme criminal involvement among youth. Further, as Inciardi et al. (1993:71) note, this small subsample will invariably oversample the least serious of the serious offenders. For instance, in the National Youth Survey the "serious delinquent" subsample averaged 118 total offenses. Thus, there should be little surprise that there is considerably more crime here than in previously studied samples of so-called serious offenders at large in the community.

Our sample likely contains what Edmonton City Police refer to as "chronic offenders." The police service itself suggests that 16 percent of the crime in the city is committed by three percent of all offenders (Edmonton Journal; November 2, 1993), a trend long known to criminologists. Wolfgang et al. (1972) for example, discovered that 6% of their total sample accounted for 52% of all arrests. Other research (Hamperian et. al 1978; Sorrells, 1977; Strasberg, 1978) has generated similar general findings: a small number of offenders are responsible for an enormous amount crime.

For illustrative purposes we might want to compare our numbers with the official statistics for the City of Edmonton in 1992, a period in which our offenders will have committed some of their offenses (Edmonton Police Service, 1992). Our sample admitted to 5724 break and enters. The total break and enters for the City of Edmonton in 1992 was 14850. However, from victimization surveys we know that 36% of break and enters are not reported to police suggesting the actual number in the city is probably closer to 23,000 (Minister of the Solicitor General, 1982). If this is the case our sample will have committed around 25 percent of the break and enters in the city. Yet, we also know that while each offender may be credited, and charged if caught, with an offense, only one offense is recorded by police. We know that property crime is a group affair (Elliot et al., 1985; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi, 1969; Kornhauser, 1978; Short ad Strodtbeck, 1965), thus some offenders will have participated in the same offense. If we argue that half of the offenses admitted to by our sample, were offenses where the respondent had one partner who was also in the sample, then the number of break and enters that our sample is actually responsible for is closer to 2800. This works out to be (2800/23000=12%) somewhat lower than the police estimates. Of course our sample may not have captured all of the serious break and enter artists. This process gives us an idea of how accurate, despite some undoubted exaggeration, the respondents self-reported totals are.

It must also be recognized when examining the high offense totals that they are aggregated over the period of one year. Thus, if we look more closely at each offense type we discover that the totals are actually quite reasonable. On average, the whole sample made four drug deals each day, engaged in one property crime each day and about one or two violent offenses a week. Broken down in this fashion, the large aggregate totals are not unrealistic. In fact, from field experience they certainly underrepresent the totals of the more serious offenders. For example, the more successful drug dealers worked from before noon until the bars closed. Over this more than 14 hour period just two sales an hour adds up to 28 sales per day.

During an informal conversation with a city police officer I expressed some doubt about some of the more active respondents' claims of undertaking two to three break and enters a day. I was informed that it was often three or four and he was surprised that it was not more considering the ease of entry into many homes. He added that many times offenders are captured with tens of thousands of dollars in stolen property in their possession. A later discussion with this same officer began with complaints that he spent most of his time chasing "my kids." I countered that I was neither their parent, nor their leader.

While frequency of behavior is one method that can be used to identify serious offenders, another is to invoke a criteria based on the number of serious offenses respondents have committed. Cut off points have varied from a low of 3 serious offenses (Elliot et al., 1989.) to a mid range of 5 (Cernkovich et al., 1985) to a high of 10 serious crimes (Inciardi et al., 1993). Totalling up the offenses usually defined as "serious" in this other work (burglary, robbery, assaults, aggravated assaults, group fights, car theft, breaking into cars, theft over $50 and arson) reveals that 156 respondents can be identified as serious offenders by the lower criteria while 127 are still eligible if the most stringent criteria is employed. In fact, 71 respondents had committed over 50 serious crimes and 50 had commmitted over 100 serious offenses. The total number of serious crimes (74,408) committed by the sample respondents makes up over 22% of the total number of offenses.

TABLE 6.2
NUMBER OF OFFENSES PER OFFENDER TOTAL CRIME INDEX

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
0	7	3.5
1-5	27	13.5
6-10	14	7.0
11-25	15	7.5
26-50	24	12.0
51-100	17	8.5
101-200	10	5.0
201-500	17	8.5
501-1000	11	6.5
1001-2000	18	9.0
2001-5000	21	11.5
OVER 5000	19	9.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

Saying all this, it is important to note that there was a great deal of variation in the criminal behavior of the respondents (see Table 6.2). A large minority of youth committed either no criminal offenses or very few illegal acts. Seven youths claimed to have committed no crime in the year prior to the interview, and another 41 youth admitted to committing under 10 offenses. In total, almost half of the sample (n=87) had committed fifty offenses or less. While to the average person, this is a large number of offenses, these offenders' behavior paled in comparison to the criminal activities of some of their peers.

Eighty-six respondents had committed over two hundred offenses. Sixty-nine of those youth admitted to more than 500 criminal acts and 58 testified to being involved in more than 1000 illegal transgressions. Forty of the offenders reported over 2000 offenses. Thus, by utilizing either a major crime definition or a frequency definition, it can be easily concluded that there are a large number of serious offenders within this sample. However, in terms of overall criminal behavior, it is a small number of offenders who account for a large proportion of all criminal activity.

While this gross index provides us with some interesting insights, it is necessary to move on to examine more closely the different varieties of crime, including property, violent and drug offenses, that respondents undertook.

PROPERTY CRIME

Property offenses made up over 20% of the offenses reported by the sample (see Table 6.1). The 200 youth indicated that they had committed 69,570 property offenses in the last year. This averaged out to 348 property offenses per respondent. Thefts from cars were the most predominant type of property crime within the sample accounting for 57% of all property offenses. Here small electronic devices that were easy to conceal and sell were the prime targets. Radar detectors, tape decks and CD players, as well as cassettes, CD's, money and cigarettes were taken from the vehicles.

Theft over fifty dollars and theft under fifty dollars accounted for 12% and 11.7% of the property crime respectively. Again items tended to be those easily concealed and distributed including clothes, "walkman's" and "music" as well as smaller items like cheap rings and cigarettes.

The respondents in the sample also claimed to be responsible for over 5700 break and enters. Popular items were cash, gold and other jewellery, T.V's, VCR's, stereos and other electronic items that were easily removed as well as liquor and guns. However, some respondents combined crimes by stealing automobiles to load up and transfer their "score." These burglaries accounted for about 8% of the total number of property crimes.

And finally there was admission to 2900 motor vehicle thefts. Stealing the vehicle to take on a "joy ride" was the most popular reason given by respondents for these thefts. Other favourites included theft for transportation and larceny for "chop shops." Further, as has already been alluded to above, some respondents indicated that they utilized stolen vehicles to transport other stolen property.

It is important to note that respondents usually received around 10-15% value for their stolen property from the fences and pawn shops. While they often complained about the offers, and attempted to get more, they eventually settled for what was available. Thus, while the worth of their thefts may have been quite high, the profits from their property crimes were often quite modest. Only the most active could boast of large sums of money.

Other property crimes were more directly related to the respondents' homelessness. There were an additional 1523 break and enter offenses as a result of breaking into structures to sleep where no property was taken. The theft of food due to

TABLE 6.3
NUMBER OF OFFENSES PER OFFENDER PROPERTY CRIME INDEX

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
0	31	15.5
1-5	42	21.0
6-10	17	8.5
11-25	21	11.5
26-50	15	7.5
51-100	20	10.0
101-200	18	9.0
201-500	12	6.0
501-1000	8	4.0
1001-2000	8	4.0
OVER 2001	8	4.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

respondent hunger accounts for a further 3500 offenses.

Mirroring the total crime index, the property crime index revealed that it was a small number of offenders who were responsible for the bulk of these property offenses (see Table 6.3). Thirty-one respondents reported committing no property offenses in the year prior to the interview. An additional 57 indicated that they had committed 10 or less property offenses in the last year. These youths' behavior can be contrasted with their more criminally active peers. Seventy-four youth admitted over 50 offenses. Of these, 56 claimed over 100 offenses. The most serious offenders were the 24 who insisted that they had been involved in a combined total of over 500 property offenses.

An examination of each property offense individually makes plain that it is a small number of youth who are responsible for each offense. For example, 11 youths claimed to have broken into more than 1000 cars. Eleven others claimed to have broken into over 100 households or businesses. Fourteen respondents revealed that they had stolen something worth less than $50 over 100 times and 17 implied that they stolen something worth more than $50 more than 100 times.

Similarly, fourteen youths were responsible for stealing over 50 motor vehicles each.

These numbers seemed to indicate a variety of types of property offenders. For some there is the tendency to specialize in one type of offense while they dally in others. A small number of respondents are able to claim extreme expertise in a wide variety of offenses. For example, while 11 of the 16 respondents with total property offenses of over 1000 achieved those numbers through "car hopping" (thefts from vehicles), others were required to be successful in a combination of other offenses to reach those totals. For many of the others it was limited success in a number of different offenses that enabled them to mount moderately high totals.

Respondents were asked to think about the last offense they committed in each property offense category and to recall their motivations. It appeared that most of the incentive for property crime came from utilitarian sources. Their criminal behavior was simply to obtain money or to sell the stolen property for money. The money was required for a number of reasons. A number of the respondents reported they required money "to live." Others were more specific pointing to essentials like food, clothes, rent, and furniture. A large number voiced fulfilling a demand for drugs, alcohol and cigarettes. Some admitted to targeting items they lacked, and argued that the theft was merely to fulfill their aspirations. For the less frequent offenders, the activity brought an adrenaline rush and enjoyment. However, for those who regularly engaged in the behavior is was means of survival.

VIOLENT OFFENSES

The respondents had been involved in a total of 16,443 violent offenses in the last year which amounted to just under five percent of all offenses reported (see Table 6.1). The mean number of violent offenses per respondent in the year prior to the interview was 82.2. Robbery made up the bulk of the violent offenses within the sample (58%). Reports indicated that there were 9575 incidents where the respondents used or threatened force to get items or money from another person. This was an average of almost 48 per respondent. Besides cash and jewellery, popular items targeted included clothes, jackets, shoes, hats, walkmans, and cigarettes. Simple assaults as in street and bar fights accounted for the next highest number of offenses (3138 or 19%). Respondents had been in 15 fights on average in the last year. They also claimed to have participated in an average of 11 group fights in the last year. These fights totalled 2176 or 13% of the total violent offenses. Perhaps the most disturbing finding was that 103 respondents indicated that they had injured someone with a weapon or a fist so badly they probably needed a doctor. These offenses totalled 1554 or 9.5% of all violent offenses. From observation most of these would have been

TABLE 6.4
NUMBER OF OFFENSES PER OFFENDER VIOLENT CRIME INDEX

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
0	37	18.5
1	15	7.5
2-5	53	26.5
6-10	18	9.0
11-20	21	11.5
21-30	19	9.5
31-50	8	4.0
51-100	13	6.5
101-200	8	4.0
OVER 200	8	4.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

facial lacerations, and wounds from knife fights especially to forearms from blocking weapons, and perhaps broken ribs from kicks taken while lying prone on the ground. However, some told of more severe injuries including broken limbs and stab wounds to the abdominal, neck and shoulder areas.

The distribution of violent offenses revealed a small group of relatively peaceful respondents (see Table 6.4). Thirty-seven indicated that they had committed no violent crime in the last year. However, over a third of the respondents conveyed participation in more than ten offenses. Fifty-nine youths had been involved in more than 20 violent offenses. The 17 most extreme offenders claimed that they had participated in 100 instances of violent crime in the last year. A perusal of individual offenses again revealed that a small number of youths accounted for most of the offensive behavior. While 80 respondents admitted robbing someone, 26 had done so more than 10 times. The bulk of the offenses were committed by 12 respondents who regularly roamed the downtown core "rolling" other youth.

One hundred and three youth indicated that they had hurt someone with a weapon or a fist so bad they probably needed a doctor. However, 25 respondents suggested that this had happened more than ten times in the past year. Five respondents revealed that this had happened more than 50 times in the prior twelve months. A few of the respondents with extremely high aggravated assault totals came to be known to the researcher as "fighters" who assaulted or "beat people up" for a living. In fact, the researcher was warned by other respondents not to interview 2 of them. "That guy? He don't do interviews."

One hundred sixteen youth indicated they were in a fight in the last year; 89 were in more than one. Fifty-seven youth reported to be in more than five fights; 14 of the respondents contended that they were in more than 50.

Unlike the property offenses where similar utilitarian arguments were put forth to explain each crime, the reasons for the respondents' involvement varied by the type of offense. For instance, in undertaking a robbery there was the element of monetary gain in addition to violence. Thus, some offenses were for money, gold and clothes, while others were ground in revenge, payback, collecting on debts or dislike. And some were for fun or because the offenders were intoxicated.

Aggravated assault and common assault were less for monetary reasons, although the former was often a legacy of a robbery. Most often these offenses stemmed from disputes that escalated to violence. Often they stemmed from a comment or look that was disliked, or in the case of premeditated revenge, a behavior (including a drug deal gone bad) or comment in the past. Again the elements of fun and intoxication were prominent as was the cathartic utilization of violence to release frustration.

The large number of group fights evolved out of group rivalries, and the escalation of disputes where the original combatants were joined in battle by other group members in acts of guardianship. Some respondents also indicated that group fights evolved out of situations that called for revenge, as in rumours, somebody getting "ripped" off in a drug deal, a girlfriend cheating, or to avenge the victimization of a friend.

DRUG SALES

Another crime that contributed greatly to the resources of the respondents was the sale of illegal drugs. In fact, drug offenses accounted for the largest number of reported crimes (see Table 6.1). The average number of illegal drug sales in the sample was 1200. Substances distributed included marijuana, hash, mushrooms, LSD, mescaline, speed, cocaine and heroin. One hundred and thirteen of the youths had sold drugs in the year prior to the interview (see Table 6.5). Forty-three youths had made more than 1000 transactions. Thirty of these respondents had conducted over 2000 exchanges. Sixteen youths declared that they had been involved in over 5000 "deals."

TABLE 6.5
NUMBER OF OFFENSES PER OFFENDER DRUGS SALES INDEX

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
0	87	3.5
1-5	30	13.5
6-25	9	7.0
26-100	11	7.5
101-500	11	12.0
501-1000	14	8.5
1001-2000	13	5.0
2001-5000	14	8.5
5001-10000	9	6.5
OVER 10001	7	9.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

Many of the explanations for the behavior were similar to those supplied for property crime. Most claimed they dealt for money. The second most popular response alluded to was the necessity to supply their own drug habits. Others specified that they sold drugs "to live," for rent, food and clothes. The "small timers" were more likely to sell because they "had extra" or only engaged in the transactions "for friends."

OTHER CRIME

Property crime and robbery were not the only routes to money for youth on the street. A small number of the respondents had engaged in sexual behavior for money in the past year (n=14). However, it was 3 youth in particular who made their livings through prostitution turning over 400 "dates" in the last year.

The other crime prominent on the street was vandalism. Almost 5900 cases of vandalism were admitted to by respondents (see Table 6.1). The most common reason: revenge. People who had upset these youth were subject to have their cars, houses, and other properties damaged. Another popular explanation surrounded the youths release of anger and frustration. Finally, vandalism was fun, especially while drunk or stoned.

ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE.

The previous responses have called attention to the serious drug and alcohol use within the sample. There appears to be a great deal of crime conducted for the sole purpose of obtaining alcohol and drugs. When respondents were asked how often they drank in the 30 days prior to the interview, 23 (11.5%) indicated they did so everyday (see Table 6.6). Another 21 (10.5%) admitted to drinking alcohol four to six times a week. There were only 22 youths in the whole sample who had not drunk in the previous month and of these, four respondents claimed to have never drunk alcohol. The average age of first drink amongst those in the sample who had drunk was ten.

More than half the respondents indicated that when they drank they did so to "get high." Sixty-four respondents admitted to having serious alcohol problems. Eighty-four revealed that they had drank alcohol in the morning. Similarly, 84 respondents claimed to have had blackouts or flashbacks from drinking alcohol and 94 believed that they should drink less. Perhaps the clearest indicator of serious alcohol problems was the fact that 39 of the youth had already sought help for their alcohol problems.

TABLE 6.6
ALCOHOL USE IN THE LAST 30 DAYS

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	22	11.0
ONCE	18	9.0
2-3 TIMES	33	16.5
ONCE A WEEK	33	16.5
2-3 TIMES A WEEK	44	22.0
4-6 TIMES A WEEK	21	10.5
EVERYDAY	23	11.5
VARIES	6	3.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

DRUG USE

While there were indications of severe alcohol abuse in the sample, they paled in comparison to some of the drug use in the sample (see Tables 6.7 A through 6.7 D). Beginning with softer drug use, 28% of the sample (n=56) smoked marijuana or hash everyday. Another 13% (n=26) smoked this type of substance at least four to six times a week. Thus, over 40 percent of the sample was smoking drugs on an almost daily basis.

The use of LSD and other psychedelics was also quite high. One hundred thirteen of the respondents has used psychedelics in the year prior to the interview. Most of these used the drugs on a fairly regular basis. Sixty-seven respondents used LSD or some other psychedelic at least twice a month. Forty-six claimed they did so at least once a week. The most serious abusers (n=31) were "eating acid" at least two or three times a week. There were even five respondents who claimed to "drop acid" 4-6 times a week and seven who reported that they took acid everyday.

The use of cocaine was somewhat less than psychedelic drugs. Sixty-eight percent of the sample had not used cocaine in the last year. Fifteen respondents admitted to "doing coke" at least once a week on average during the last year. Eleven of these respondents indicated that they "banged," (injected) "snorted" (inhaled) or "freebased" (smoked) cocaine daily. While crack cocaine did not appear prevalent in the city, it was available. Those who smoked crack cocaine were said to be "rockin it" referring to the form in which the drug came: a rock. The price of cocaine, ranging from $100 to $150 a gram, probably prohibited widespread use, although it was sold in smaller quantities for as low as $10 and up to $30 dollars for "an eighth" of a gram. This included "loaded" (already filled with liquid cocaine) syringes in the fortified drug houses that spotted the inner city. In comparison a hit of acid was $5 and a gram of hash was anywhere from $10-15. There may also have been a negative stigma associated with the drug indicating a "hard core" drug user. Further, there seemed to be the perception from some that one could easily get hooked on cocaine. Thus, many respondents who regularly smoked marijuana or hash reacted negatively to the idea of cocaine use.

The use of "speed" amongst respondents was even less common than the use of cocaine. Over three quarters of the respondents reported no amphetamine consumption in the 12 months prior to the interview. However, there were six "speed freaks" in the sample who claimed to take amphetamines on a daily or almost daily basis. Again, there was some perception that regular amphetamine use was dangerous: "speed kills." Reports of other pill use, including "barbiturates" and "tranquilizers" was also infrequent. Similarly, the use of inhalants was rare. Again however, there was a small group of

TABLE 6.7 A
DRUG USE ON AVERAGE OVER THE LAST YEAR

	MARIJUANA		LSD/PSYCHEDELICS	
	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	31	15.5	87	43.5
LESS THAN ONCE MONTH	20	10.0	33	16.5
2-3 TIMES	19	9.5	21	10.5
ONCE A WEEK	10	5.0	15	7.5
2-3 TIMES A WEEK	29	14.5	19	9.5
4-6 TIMES A WEEK	26	13.0	5	2.5
EVERYDAY	56	28.0	7	3.5
VARIES	9	4.5	13	6.5
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

TABLE 6.7 B
DRUG USE ON AVERAGE OVER THE LAST YEAR

	COCAINE		AMPHETAMINES	
	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	136	68.0	154	77.0
LESS THAN ONCE MONTH	24	12.0	17	8.5
2-3 TIMES	8	4.0	6	3.0
ONCE A WEEK	2	1.0	3	1.5
2-3 TIMES A WEEK	2	1.0	0	0.0
4-6 TIMES A WEEK	1	0.5	2	1.0
EVERYDAY	10	5.0	4	2.0
VARIES	17	8.5	14	7.0
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

TABLE 6.7 C
DRUG USE ON AVERAGE OVER THE LAST YEAR

	BARBITURATES		TRANQUILIZERS	
	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	181	90.5	154	77.0
LESS THAN ONCE MONTH	10	10.0	15	7.5
2-3 TIMES	5	2.5	6	3.0
ONCE A WEEK	0	0.0	5	2.5
2-3 TIMES A WEEK	0	0.0	1	0.5
4-6 TIMES A WEEK	0	0.0	0	0.0
EVERYDAY	0	0.0	1	0.5
VARIES	4	2.0	18	9.0
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

TABLE 6.7 D
DRUG USE ON AVERAGE OVER THE LAST YEAR

	HEROIN/OTHER NARCOTICS		INHALANTS	
	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	149	49.5	183	91.5
LESS THAN ONCE MONTH	19	9.5	3	1.5
2-3 TIMES	11	5.5	3	1.5
ONCE A WEEK	3	1.5	0	0.0
2-3 TIMES A WEEK	2	1.0	0	0.0
4-6 TIMES A WEEK	0	0.0	1	0.5
EVERYDAY	3	1.5	5	2.5
VARIES	13	6.5	5	2.5
TOTAL	200	100.0	200	100.0

6 respondents who reported "huffing" (inhaling) everyday.

Perhaps the most surprising distribution on the drug measures was the relative prominence of heroin and other narcotic use within the sample. One quarter of the sample had used heroin or some other narcotic in the last year. Most of this appeared experimental as there were only 3 "junkies" in the sample. Five respondents used heroin at least once a week and 11 others used 2-3 times a month. As Inciardi et al. (1993) note, not all users of addictive drugs become addicts. Many heroin users remain occasional users for years. Less than daily use has been reported in over one third of all heroin users in street studies (Brunswick and Messeri, 1985; Inciardi, 1986, Inciardi et al., 1993; Johnson et al., 1985). It is also likely that much of the narcotic use may have been Talwin (a narcotic) mixed with Ritalin (a stimulant) known on the street as "T's and R's" or the "poor man's heroin." The prohibitive cost of heroin ($600 a gram) meant that these other drugs were more accessible. Although 1/10th of a gram bags of heroin may have been available for as low as $60, this was still quite expensive.

An interesting pattern appears on the drug measures' distribution. That is the prominence of the "varies" category. Respondents reporting that their use of a certain drug varied was particularly noticeable on the more serious drug measures. Here, there were indications that respondents went through binges where on occasions they were using certain drugs daily, after which they returned to more sporadic use. This might have been affected by financial circumstances, by the availability of the drug in their network, or decisions to "clean-up" after an intense period of serious drug use. Some had been through drug rehabilitation on more than one occasion. Further, some respondents reported that their use had been halted by incarceration. Thus, the 17 respondents who said their cocaine use varied; the 13 respondents who claimed their heroin/narcotic use varied; and the 14 and 18 youths who explained that their amphetamine and tranquilizer use, respectively, varied; may have at certain times during the year been regular heavy users and at others total abstainers.

This said, it should also be pointed out that 17 respondents had never used drugs. The average age of first use was 12.46. slightly older than first alcohol use. Over 70% (n=129) of those respondents who had used drugs indicated that they had done so in the morning. This behavior as referred to as "wake and bake." Half the sample had experienced blackouts or flashbacks from drugs. Ninety-seven respondents felt they should use drugs less but only 61 of them felt they had drug problems. Again this seemed to relate back for many of them to the type of drug they most often used. The use of marijuana was not viewed as extremely problematic for some of the youths. Only 39 youths had sought help for their drug problems.

DRUGS AND ALCOHOL ON THE STREET

Seeing the heavy use of alcohol and drugs by many of the respondents, it becomes important to ask what role it has in crime and delinquency. Most of what is known about the drug crime relationship amongst serious offenders comes from research on heroin users. Here researchers describe an interactive cycle between crime and drug use: crime finances use; use encourages more use; more use encourages more crime (see Austin and Lettierri, 1976; Gandossy et al., 1980; Inciardi, 1992: Inciardi et al., 1993; McBride and McCoy, 1982; Weissman, 1978). The literature indicates that drug and alcohol use may be a critical factor in the move from trivial to serious crime. Further, there are indications that crime and drug use are intertwined "definitional characteristics" of a street lifestyle and perhaps subculture (Inciardi et al., 1993). Contacts become increasingly limited to other street people, values become altered to fit behaviors; and crime becomes accepted as not just a means of obtaining drugs but as part of a way of life. Within this way of life, crime is more than simply a means of getting drugs; its success affects usage (good criminals can afford more drugs, those less effective have less to spend), while drug use affects crime directly by making risky and otherwise difficult offenses psychologically easier (Goldstein, 1985; Inciardi et al., 1993; Inciardi and Russe, 1977). The role of "being under the influence" of a substance while committing a crime would be

TABLE 6.8
ENGAGED IN CRIME FOR DRUGS OR ALCOHOL

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	74	37.0
A FEW TIMES	65	32.5
SOMETIMES	48	24.0
OFTEN	13	6.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

TABLE 6.9
ATTACKED SOMEONE WHILE UNDER INFLUENCE OF DRUGS OR ALCOHOL

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	65	32.5
A FEW TIMES	56	28.0
SOMETIMES	38	19.0
OFTEN	41	20.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

expected among street people since they are strongly involved in both crime and drugs.

There appeared to be a small, hard core group of youths on the street who engaged in crime primarily to satisfy their needs for drugs and alcohol. To be more specific, many of the youth admitted that they sold illegal narcotics and committed numerous property and violent offenses in order to finance their substance abuses. Table 6.8 indicates that 61 respondents testified that they had engaged in some sort of criminal behavior on more than a few occasions in order to obtain drugs and alcohol. Another 65 reported criminal behavior for such subtances in at least a few instances. These numbers lend support to research question 3 C and the idea that crime on the street funds substance abuse which in turn increases the need for even more criminal behavior to fund the growing addictions.

Yet the desire for drugs is only half of the equation. The illegal behavior was often carried out while under the influence of these substances. Drugs and alcohol were particularly prominent in violent offenses (see Table 6.9). For example, only 65 respondents indicated that they had never attacked anyone while under the influence of drugs or alcohol. On the other hand, 79 conveyed that they had attacked someone with their fists while under the influence on numerous occasions. Seventy-nine respondents also communicated that they had committed a large number of property crimes while under the influence of drugs or alcohol (see Table 6.10). These numbers provide support for research question 3 D that these substances facilitate criminal behavior by providing a confidence and sense of invincibility that make these crimes psychologically easier to complete.

Together, whether committing criminal offenses to acquire substances, or perpetrating offenses while under the

TABLE 6.10
STOLEN SOMETHING WHILE UNDER INFLUENCE OF DRUGS OR ALCOHOL

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	84	42.0
A FEW TIMES	37	18.5
SOMETIMES	39	19.5
OFTEN	40	20.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

influence, drugs and alcohol appear to be prominent forces on the street.

SUMMARY

The descriptive and qualitative review of the respondents illustrates a group of youth who are prime candidates for criminal behavior. Many come from homes where they are neglected and abused. Many lack the necessary relationships and guidance to help form bonds that might sheperd them towards more conventional behavior. Instead, they leave their homes under duress and are forced into situations where they are required to fend for themselves. These unfavourable experiences in turn affect the youths' school histories. Lacking guidance, supervision and encouragement, they enter the school environment handicapped by their backgrounds. Within the school their behaviors are viewed as problematic and are dealt with punitively rather than in a manner that might serve to enable the youth to triumph over their disabilities. The negative home and school experiences lead the youths to abandon these institutions without the minimal credentials required to be successful in a competitive labour market that demands more and more accreditation for even the most menial of employment.

The youths journey through a series of low wage, low skill jobs, suffering through experiences where they are exploited and humiliated, all the while being threatened with replacement. They come to know a labour market that has little loyalty to them and in turn they become estranged and alienated from its minimal rewards. For some, the process takes an emotional toll as they experience guilt, anger, helplessness and depression. However, for others, the adaptation is made with less baggage, just another harsh reality in a series of actualities that brutalize, abuse and victimize them. There emerges little attachment, bonding or affection for conventional society. There evolve feelings of unfairness, injustice, and just plain corruption. And all the while this is happening the youths are somehow forced to survive with the minimal legal resources available to them.

It is not surprising that these youth turn to crime to support themselves. Many express and boast of successes that are not imaginable in the labour market they know. With their realities comes the deadening of emotions and weakening of attachments to conventional society that make their participation in an illegal labour market more tolerable and even acceptable. They are surrounded by many others like themselves who have come to similar conclusions through similar experiences and who will support them in their inferences. They become involved in a cycle where employment is no longer explored as a survival option; where crime replaces work as a mode of subsistance. At the same time drugs and alcohol ease the emotional transition, and make the commission of crime easier. With more success in crime, there is more disposable income to spend on drugs and alcohol; and with more drugs and alcohol the need for more crime to sustain the habits.

The end result is a group of youths alienated from the labour market and the rest of conventional society who engage in crime to survive and to feed their addictions and abuses. While all of this is plausible, it is now time to turn to the quantitative analysis to explore which factors are the most important in explaining the criminal behavior of street youth. A multiple regression analysis will enable us to sort out just which factors are related to this behavior. Perhaps it stems from background factors alone. Alternatively, it may be the objective labour market variables that account for crime. The role of street involvement and subjective interpretations may outweigh both background and labour market factors. Or perhaps it is some combination of these four that leads street youth to crime.

CHAPTER SEVEN

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The qualitative analysis complete, our examination moves to a statistical analysis. Here our concerns are twofold. First, we are interested in the strength of each of the variables outlined earlier in explaining the criminal behavior of street youth. Second, we are concerned with the way in which these variables explain different varieties of criminal behavior. We expect that certain variables will assist us in explaining crime across offense types. However, we also expect that some variables will emerge as important predictors for only certain offense categories. Thus, it is important to distinguish those variables that have a generalized impact from those that are more offense specific.

For ease of discussion, we will begin with a brief review of the variables used in the analysis. Drawing from the theoretical and empirical literature we were able to discover a total of 31 potentially important explanatory variables. Four conceptual categories were created to help organize these variables into an explanatory framework. These four conceptual categories were: background factors, labour market factors, street factors, and interpretive factors.

The background factors culled from the literature include the age of the respondent, class background, the unemployment history of the respondent's parents, family structure of the respondent's parental household, the respondent's prior criminal behavior, current living circumstances, the instrumental, relational, and coercive control experienced by the respondent while residing at his parents' home, the amount of education completed by the respondent, and his commitment to school while he was still attending.

The second conceptual category, labour market factors, includes the present employment status of the youth, the total number of jobs held by the respondent in his lifetime, present legal monetary resources available to the youth, the number of months the respondent was unemployed in the prior twelve months (unemployed meaning out of work and looking for work), and the number of months in the past year the youth was discouraged (discouraged meaning out of work and not looking for work).

The third group of variables represent the street involvement of the respondents. Included in this category is the length of time the respondent was homeless on the street in the last year, the peer pressure the respondent experienced, the amount of illegal behavior the youths participated in with peers, the amount of illegal behavior committed while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol, and the degree of illegal acts undertaken to obtain drugs and/or alcohol.

The final group of variables are those representing the interpretive reactions of the respondents to their unemployment. These include the respondents' internal attributions for their unemployment: employment competence, employment motivation, and interview/appearance adequacy; as well as their external attributions: perceptions of an inequitable or unfair social structure and economic recession. Other interpretive factors include the respondents' perceptions of financial well-being, and the more emotive variables of guilt, anger, hopelessness and depression in reaction to unemployment.

Our strategy began with the generation of a correlation matrix containing all of the variables to be utilized in the statistical analysis (See Appendix A). This process was undertaken to explore for potential problems of collinearity between the independent variables. An examination of the matrix reveals that in certain instances there is a high degree of collinearity between variables. However, these are, for the most part, to be expected. For example, the zero-order correlation between current living circumstances and length of homelessness was r=.478. Thus, there is a relationship between being homeless and length of homelessness. Similarly, the correlation between instrumental and relational control was r=.437 suggesting that those respondents who experienced more instrumental control also tended to experience more relational control. Other examples include the degree of school commitment and the last grade the respondent had completed (r=.435), and the respondents' employment status and their current legal income (r=-.693). Those more committed to school tended to have completed more education and those who had employment tended to have larger legal incomes than those who were not employed. There was also a high degree of collinearity between the length of unemployment (out of work and looking for work) and the length of discouragement (out of work and not looking for work). Here, as expected, the greater the length of unemployment, the lower the time of discouragement (r=-.595). Thus, for the most part, the collinearity suggests that these measures are alternatives to each other and the stronger of the two variables would make their presence felt in the regression procedures.

A number of variables, nevertheless, posed more serious problems. The variables measuring respondents' intoxication while engaging in criminal acts were highly correlated with a number of variables. The variables measuring whether respondents were intoxicated when they committed property offenses (r=.503), violent offenses (r=.530) or all types of crime (r.=647), were all highly correlated with the variable measuring the respondents' criminal acts for the purpose of obtaining substances. It was thought, like the above, that being under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol when engaging in crime, and committing crime to obtain drugs and/or alcohol were alternative measures of the street lifestyle we have discussed.

However, the variable of being drunk or stoned when committing property crime was also highly related to peers helping them engage in crime (r=.470). Similarly, the variable measuring if the respondent was under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol while committing all types of crime was highly correlated with peer involvement (r=.472). It is difficult to argue that being under the influence of drugs when committing offenses is a substitute for peer participation in these illegal offenses. What it does suggest is that much of their crime is committed while under the influence of drugs and much of their crime is a group affair. However, it is expected that the multicollinearity of the "under the influence" measure with both the "peer" variable and the "crime for drugs" variable will mean its influence will be nullified. This will enable its strong substitute, the "crime for drugs" measure to come to the explanatory forefront, while at the same time allowing the peer participation variable to make its impact. Thus, the multicollinearity in this case was deemed acceptable.

The correlation between anger and depression was also quite high (r=.504) indicating that respondents who identified they were depressed about their unemployment also tended to express anger over their unemployment. While these two types of emotions are theoretically distinct from one another, it may be the case that respondents move between the two during their unemployment experiences. Dwelling on their condition may lead to depression at certain times and anger at others. However, it may be that respondents are more apt to undertake illegal activities when they are experiencing one or the other of the emotions. Or they may engage in different types of crime under different emotional states. Therefore, we again expect the stronger of the two emotional variables to emerge contingent on the dependent variable being examined.

Statistical analysis proceeded with all of the variables being entered into a multiple regression equation simultaneously with each of our dependent variables: total property crime, total violent crime, drug sales, and total crime. As discussed earlier, two of the dependent variables, property crime and violent crime, are indexes constructed from activities with similar Canadian Criminal Code definitions and aggregated across offenses. A third index, total crime, was constructed by aggregating all offenses measured. The drug sales variable is simply a single item measuring the total number of illegal drug sales conducted by respondents. Again, as alluded to already, these dependent variables were logged in order to reduce the skewness of their distributions.

The method of introducing all the variables at once allows for those predictors that explain the most variance in the dependent variables to emerge while controlling for the other theoretically important variables. This process did in fact produce a number of significant predictors in the case of each dependent variable. These variables, their standardized regression coefficients, and their levels of significance are displayed for each dependent variable in tables throughout the body of the chapter. The full regression results are contained in an appendix at the end of the dissertation (for an example, see Table 7.1 for Property Crime; for full property crime regression see Appendix A).

To protect against the exclusion of variables that might have been suppressed by the entry of such a large number of variables at once, and to provide a validation for the previous statistical process, a variation of the regression procedure, backwards elimination was undertaken. In this method, all variables were once more entered simultaneously and then removed one by one on the condition that they did not meet the tolerance requirements of the program which in this case was a T value of .05. For the most part this process confirmed the results of the initial regression procedure. However, as expected, this approach also presented variables that failed to meet the demands of significance levels required (again a T value of .05) in the first regression analysis. It also purged a number of variables that met requirements in the initial procedure but fell short in the second approach. The results of this second technique, in terms of significant variables, their standardized beta coefficients, and their significance levels, are displayed within the same tables exhibiting the initial regression results (for an example see Table 7.1 for the backwards elimination results predicting property offenses).

These two regression procedures provide us with a number of variables that appear to help explain the various categories of criminal behavior. However, these approaches also enable us to move beyond this initial analysis towards the construction of processual path models to help us understand how it is that youth become involved in different varieties of criminal behavior and how these variables are related to one another. The strategy now is to utilize the theoretical and empirical sources available in addition to our research questions and qualitative findings to guide construction of models exploiting the variables made available to us in the initial regression procedures. We will begin with property offenses and then move in sequence through violent, drug and total offense models.

PROPERTY CRIME

An examination of Table 7.1 reveals that 7 significant predictors emerge from the first regression procedure, while the backwards elimination procedure produces 8 predictors. Together these two methods supply us with 9 variables from which to construct a path model to explain property crime. These are the background factors of age, living circumstances and relational control; the street factors of length of homelessness, peer participation in illegal activities, and criminal behavior for substances; and the interpretive factors of interview/appearance adequacy, the perception of blocked legitimate opportunities, and depression. While all these variables met significance requirements resulting from one of the two regression techniques, it was discovered that when these variables were entered into an equation by themselves, without the variables deemed unsuitable for inclusion, current living circumstances failed to meet tolerance requirements indicating a significant direct effect on property crime and as a result was eliminated from further analysis. This meant that there were only 8 variables remaining from which to construct a path model. The question became how to order these 8 variables.

TABLE 7.1
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES EXPLAINING PROPERTY CRIME

STANDARD REGRESSION	BETA	BACKWARDS ELIMINATION	BETA
AGE	-.247**	AGE	-.234***
LENGTH NFA	.141*	LENGTH NFA	.151*
INTERVIEW/APPEAR	.140*	INTERVIEW/APPEAR	.120*
STRAIN	.125*	STRAIN	.128*
DEPRESSION	.181*		
PEER PARTICIPATN	.173*	PEER PARTICIPATN	.265****
STREET INVOLVE	.189**	STREET INVOLVE	.255****
		RELATION CONTROL	-.147*
		CURRENT LIVING	.131*

*   SIG AT .05
**   SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

Drawing from available theoretical and empirical literature, as well as accessing our research questions, we were able to construct the model that appears in Figure 1. As can be seen, the background factors of age and relational control are the exogenous variables that anchor this model. As background variables, they come prior to the other variables and potentially influence all that follow them in the model. Thus, age and relational control possibly affect the length of time the respondents have lived on the street, the respondents' perceptions of blocked opportunities and interview/adequacy skills, their depression, their interaction with criminal peers and their criminal involvement for the purpose of obtaining drugs and/or alcohol. In addition, they have direct effects on the amount of property crime undertaken by the respondents.

In research question 3 E we speculated on the pivotal role homelessness played in the respondents' attributions for, and emotional reactions to, unemployment. It was also argued that being on the street increased the availability of, and contact with, criminal peers, and contributed to an immersion into a street lifestyle that included the undertaking of criminal activity to satisfy drug and alcohol habits. To take advantage of its theoretical centrality as an intervening and causal variable, time on the street was the next variable placed in the causal sequence.

The positioning of the interpretive variables, interview/appearance adequacy, blocked opportunities, and depression assumes that background factors as well as living on the street can influence respondents' attributional and emotional reactions. This is consistent with the attributional literature which summated that social historical factors along with negative life events influence people's attributions and directly affect behavior. Similarly, from this same literature, it was argued that background factors and causal attributions could influence emotional responses that might impel respondents to criminal action. Thus, in our model, attributions follow the background variables, and time on the street, while emotional responses follow attributions. At the same time we must call for caution in the interpretation of the attributional and emotional variables since they are measured subsequent to the criminal behaviors and may be causal rationalizations for prior illegal activities.

Following the interpretive variables in the model is the variable measuring peer participation in the respondent's criminal activities. It is assumed from control theory that involvement with criminal peers can be the result of background factors (low social control) that leads them into the company of similarly disposed others. However, from the subcultural perspective, attributions for unemployment (particularly external attributions), and the emotions this experience and these attributions generate leads youths to seek out or join with peers who have made similar attributions for their problems of adjustment. This variable was placed after the depression variable (emotional reaction) to take advantage of both of the theoretical causal routes that might proceed it. It also exploits routine activities theory and the idea of the "situation of company" where the time on the street increases the youth's opportunities to become exposed to criminally inclined peers.

The final independent variable placed in the model is street involvement. As anticipated by control theory, involvement in a street lifestyle where crime is required to obtain drugs and alcohol can be the result of background factors alone. However, as speculated by routine activities theorists, time on the street leads to a greater exposure to this type of lifestyle. Further, the interpretive factors, as speculated in the strain, subcultural and attributional work, may lead to the adoption of this type of lifestyle. Lastly, subcultural and routine activities theorists would all admit that the availability of peers to help gain these funds through illegal activities might increase such activities. In conclusion then, this variable may, theoretically, be influenced by all the variables that proceed it in the model and is therefore placed farthest along in our causal sequencing. With the rational for variable placement complete, it is time to examine the success of our model in explaining property crime.

PROPERTY CRIME MODEL

Estimation of the model began with equations predicting the various variables in the model. The standardized B's used to estimate the paths are presented in Table 7.2. At the same time, ANOVA procedures were undertaken to explore for 2-way interactions between the modelled variables. These procedures revealed two significant interactions, both of which will be discussed in detail in our description of the model depicted in Figure 1.

PLACE FIGURE 1 HERE

Figure 1 reveals that age has a direct negative affect on property crime. That is, younger respondents appear to be more at risk to commit property crime. This is consistent with the empirical criminological literature that younger offenders are responsible for the majority of property offenses. It is also consistent with research question 1 I where we speculated that younger respondents were more likely to involve themselves in property offenses.

The model also indicates that age makes its presence felt through a number of other variables that have direct effects on property crime and its effect appears to differ depending on the causal path we follow. Importantly, it appears to affect how respondents make attributions for their unemployment and react emotionally to joblessness. First, younger respondents are more likely to perceive their appearances and interview skills as inadequate for obtaining employment and it is those who make these internal attributions that are less inclined to commit property crime.

TABLE 7.2
PATH COEFFICIENTS FOR PROPERTY CRIME MODEL

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS				
	LENGTH NFA	INTER	STRAIN	DEPRE	PEER
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES					
AGE	.270***	-.147*	NS	.291****	-.332****
RELATION	-.262***	NS	NS	NS	NS
LENGTH NFA	-	NS	.155*	NS	.155*
INTERVIEW	-	-	-	NS	NS
STRAIN	-	-	-	-	-
DEPRESS	-	-	-	-	-
PEER PART	-	-	-	-	-
STREET IN	-	-	-	-	-

* SIG AT .05
** SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

TABLE 7.2 CONTINUED
PATH COEFFICIENTS PROPERTY CRIME MODEL

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS	
	STREET	PROP CRIM
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
AGE	NS	-.248****
RELATION	NS	-.167**
LENGTH NFA	.155*	.212***
INTERVIEW	NS	-.111*
STRAIN	-	.129*
DEPRESS	-	.126*
PEER PART	.394***	.285****
STREET IN	-	.265****

R2 .476 SIG F=.0000
ADJUSTED R2 .454
N=194

*	SIG AT .05
**	SIG AT .01
***	SIG AT .001
****	SIG AT .0001

TABLE 7.3
CELL MEANS AND N's FOR INTERACTION
EFFECT BETWEEN AGE AND DELINQUENT PEERS

	PEER PARTICPATION IN DELINQUENCY	
AGE	RARELY	USUALLY
12-16	2.82 (13)	4.13 (35)
17-19	2.22 (36)	4.77 (34)
20-24	2.04 (47)	3.29 (29)

Thus, consistent with research question 4 A, those who make internal attributions for their unemployment are poor candidates for illegal activities and it appears to be younger respondents who tend to attribute the cause of their unemployment internally.

Younger respondents also tended to have accomplices in their criminal acts which serves to increase property crime. In fact, this was one of the aforementioned interaction effects discovered through the ANOVA procedure.[2] As can be seen in Table 7.3 it was the younger respondents, particularly those under the age of 16, who tended to be accompanied by criminal peers during their property violations. Thus, the sheer availability of criminal peers, regardless of the amount of time spent living on the street, seems to be greater for younger respondents.

In contrast, the model suggests that older respondents are at greater risk for long periods of homelessness. In turn, as the duration of homelessness increases, so does the amount of property crime.

Further, it was older respondents who experienced depression (meaning low in spirits, sad, dejected, gloomy) as a result of their unemployment which in turn directly increased the risk of property offenses. Thus, it is the older street youth who tend to exhibit negative emotional reactions to their unemployment and this unfavourable response appears to advance criminal behavior. The finding that depression leads to criminal behavior is contradictory to both theoretical expectations (see research question 4 C) and the data presented earlier in qualitative form. However, a reexamination and interpretation of the qualitative data makes these results somewhat more intelligible. First, the qualitative data suggests that the major sources of depression are boredom, the lack of activity, and the absence of structure in the respondents' lives as well as the paucity of basic resources. It was speculated that criminal behavior might serve to break up the tedium by supplying an activity that is both recreational and exciting. Not only does it provide activity, but it might also reintroduce a sense of agency and structure into the youths' lives. Their day may become structured around doing B and E's in the morning and then pawning their takes in the afternoon: an activity that becomes a regular routine. Other respondents may carhop at night and sell their spoils in the morning, again providing some design for the day. At the same time the money provides some reward and the crimes some excitement in a lifestyle that for these respondents is intrinsically unfulfilling.

Returning to the collinearity between depression and anger discovered earlier in the examination of our correlation matrix, it is interesting to note that in the qualitative data, the absence of meaningful activity and basic means also generated anger. To guard against the possible wrongful exclusion of anger in the model due to measurement error or a fractionally lower correlation, this variable was substituted for depression in our model. It failed, however, to reach a T value of .05 upon inclusion and was in fact a rather weak predictor.

This, lends credence to the idea that emotional reactions to joblessness may vary over the period of unemployment. However, when respondents are feeling dejected or gloomy over their lack of employment, it appears that they are more likely to undertake property offenses in an attempt to exert some influence over their life circumstances. This particularly appears to be the case for older respondents.

Before proceeding to the manner in which age influences more complex paths to property crime, it is time to examine the other exogenous variable in our model: relational control. The relational control variable suggests that those who rarely spoke to, or spent time with their parents were more likely to commit property crime. This supports the speculation made in research question 1 A and supports the fundamentals of control theory: the absence of attachment to conventional others leads to criminal behavior.

The most basic indirect effects of the relational control variable flow through the length of the respondents' homelessness. The less relational control the child experienced while living at home, the greater their risk of long term homelessness, and as already alluded to above, the longer the period one has lived on the street, the greater the propensity towards property offenses.

The direct effect of the length of homelessness suggests, as postulated by routine activities theorists and in research question 3 E, that increased time in criminogenic situations increases criminal behavior. The opportunities to offend are greater since spending significant amounts of time on the street increases the odds that attractive targets lacking guardianship will converge in time and space with the motivated offender. However, as we shall soon find out, the experience of living on the street also influences other important contributors in explaining property crime.

The more complex effects of age and relational control flow through the length of homelessness variable. First, homelessness increases respondents' perceptions of blocked legitimate opportunities for employment which in turn directly increases the risk for property crime. This would appear somewhat greater for older respondents since they are more likely to be living on the street. This link between length of homelessness and the perception of blocked opportunities provided the second interaction effect discovered through the ANOVA procedures (see Table 7.4)[3]. The interaction revealed that as the length of homelessness increased, so drastically did the perception of blocked opportunities. The idea that blocked opportunities leads to criminal behavior supports a strain arguement. It also supports the speculation made in research question 4 B that those who make external attributions for their unemployment are more likely to engage in criminal behavior. This contrasts nicely to our earlier finding that those who attribute blame internally, are less likely to engage in criminal behavior. It appears that the key to the external attribution, in this case, is the length of time one has lived on the street. The longer the period of homelessness, the greater the likelihood respondents will make external attributions, perceive their legitimate opportunities as blocked and react with property crime.

TABLE 7.4
CELL MEANS AND N'S FOR INTERACTION EFFECT BETWEEN LENGTH OF NFA AND PERCEIVED BLOCKAGE OF LEGITIMATE OPPORTUNITIES

	PERCEIVED BLOCKAGE IN OPPORTUNITIES	
LENGTH NFA	SLIGHT	GREAT
0 MONTHS	1.70 (37)	1.44 (6)
1-3 MONTHS	2.99 (59)	3.16 (9)
4-12 MONTHS	3.54 (68)	6.51 (15)

The length of homelessness also increases access to criminal peers, supporting research question 3 B and a routine activites "situation of company" argument. Thus, while being young increases the availability of criminal peers, older youths' opportunities to hook up with criminally inclined peers grows as their periods of homelessness increase. And for both the old and the young, criminal partners directly increase property crime. While weak relational control has no direct effect on respondents' connections with criminal peers, its influence is felt through the length of the respondents' homelessness. Similarly, while it has no direct effect on street involvement it exerts its influence through the length of the respondents' homelessness and their peers' participation in their criminal activities.

Both peer participation and length of homelessness have direct effects on street involvement. The model reveals that the more one associates with peers who partake in the respondents' criminal behavior, the greater the chances of immersion into a street culture where crime for drugs/and or alcohol becomes part of the lifestyle. Similarly, the longer one has lived on the street, the greater the opportunity, or risk, to become involved in such a lifestyle. And finally, street involvement itself has a strong direct effect on property crime. Not surprisingly, it seems that the deeper one becomes involved in a lifestyle where crime becomes a routine necessary to obtain substances to feed habits and addictions, the greater the risk of property crime. And this involvement grows the longer one lives on the street, and the greater the availability of criminally inclined peers leading similar lifestyles. Thus, much of the crime undertaken is for drugs and/or alcohol and judging from the collinearity of this variable with the "under the influence" variable, probably while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. This is consistent with the qualitative responses reviewed in Chapter 6. Recall that one of the most popular explanations for property crimes was to secure funds for these types of substances. These results support research questions 3 A, 3 B and 3 C.

The R 2 for the property crime model is .476 (Adjusted R2 .454) with a significant F value of .0000. Thus, our model explains close to 48 percent of the variation in property crime committed by the sample. In sum, this model suggests that historical and contemporary life experiences, the way we attribute cause to our unemployment, and our emotional reactions to our unemployment, all impinge on behavioral outcomes. Therefore, it is not simply the experience of unemployment that leads to criminal behavior but a number of complex causal paths that appear to vary with age. The young are more likely to engage in property crime regardless of their street experience. They also have access to an abundance of criminally active peers who will assist them in carrying out this property crime. However, the young are also more likely to attribute their unemployment to internal causes which serves to inhibit criminal behavior. In contrast, older youths are more likely to experience negative emotional reactions that serve to increase criminal behavior in an attempt to regain a sense of agency within their lives. They are also more likely to make their homes on the street for longer periods of time and the street appears to be an criminogenic environment. The street leads to external attributions for unemployment which increases property crime, it increases access to criminally inclined peers, and it provides exposure to a lifestyle that centers around crime, drugs and alcohol. The lack of social control in the home also leads to the street and opportunities already outlined. What our model did not reveal was the expected connection between attributions and emotions. In the property crime model these variables were not significantly related to each other. However, it is for exploration in other models to determine if this is a consistent pattern. Our examination of property crime complete, we now move to an examination of the variables and the model that best explain the violent crimes of street youths.

VIOLENT OFFENSES

The regression procedures outlined above were reproduced in an attempt to explain violent crime. Since violent crime and property crimes are such distinct types of offenses, it came as no surprise that a very different set of significant predictors emerged from these operations. From Table 7.5 we

TABLE 7.5
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES EXPLAINING VIOLENT CRIME

STANDARD REGRESSION	BETA	BACKWARDS ELIMINATION	BETA
AGE	-.216**	AGE	-.272****
CLASS	.222***	CLASS	.198***
COERCIVE CONT	.156*	COERCIVE CONT	.174**
PRIOR DELINQUEN	.124*	PRIOR DELINQUEN	.145**
LENGTH NFA	.204**	LENGTH NFA	.173**
GUILT	.134*		
FINANCE	.130*	FINANCE	.150**
ATTACK ON DRUGS	.367****	ATTACK ON DRUGS	.425****

* SIG AT .05
** SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

can see that eight variables afford significant explanation for violent offenses. Significant background variables include class, age, coercive control and prior delinquent behavior. In addition, 2 street variables met tolerance requirements: attacking people while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol, and the length of the respondents' homelessness. There were also 2 significant interpretive variables in the form of the perception of financial well-being and the lack of guilt over unemployment. However, when this last variable was entered into an equation with the 7 other significant predictors it failed to meet tolerance requirements and was struck from further analysis.

Again, ANOVA procedures were undertaken to explore for 2-way interactions between the modelled variables. These procedures failed to produce any significant interaction effects among the variables.

It again became necessary to provide a rationale for causal ordering of the 7 predictors produced in the initial procedures. The background factors once more provide us with our exogenous variables. Age, class, coercive control and previous delinquency secure the left side of our model predicting violent crime (see Figure 2). Again, it is expected that each of these variables might have significant effects on the variables that appear after them in the model in addition to direct effects on our dependent variable: violent crime. These 4 exogenous variables are followed immediately by the length of time respondents have lived on the street. Recall, that we speculated that this variable could be expected to influence attributions, perceptions and emotional reactions to unemployment, as well as the immersion into other aspects of street life including the undertaking of criminal activity under the influence of drugs and alcohol. Consistent with its theoretical centrality as a mediating and causal predictor, time on the street was the next variable placed in the sequence.

PLACE FIGURE 2 HERE

Drawing again from the attributional literature, the placement of the variable measuring perceptions of financial well after the exogenous variables and the length of homelessness variable assumes that both background factors as well as current life experiences can influence respondents' attributions, perceptions and emotional reactions which might directly affect behavior. Once more, due to concerns of causal rationalization, caution is suggested when interpreting the attributional variable.

The final independent variable placed into the model is the influence of drugs and/or alcohol in leading to violent attacks. As anticipated by control theory, involvement in a street lifestyle where violence takes place while drunk or stoned can be the result of background factors alone. However, as speculated by routine activities theorists, the street is a criminogenic locale, where spending time in this environment is a risky lifestyle, and where there are increased opportunities to be immersed in situations and surroundings where violence might erupt. Many of these circumstances appear to coincide with the use of drugs and alcohol and the locations where they are consumed. Further, according to strain and subcultural theories, financial perceptions may lead one to violent behavior as an expression of discontent, or as an avenue to financial resources and social status. According to current empirical research the use of drugs and alcohol may facilitate these actions and make them more likely to occur. In sum, the role of drugs and alcohol in violence crime may, theoretically, be influenced by the variables that proceed it in the model. With explanations for model construction completed, it becomes necessary to examine the results as they relate to violent crime.

VIOLENT CRIME MODEL

The statistical procedures utilized to produce the model in Figure 1 were replicated in constructing the model illustrated in Figure 2. Table 7.6 provides the results from the structural equations.

Figure 2 reveals that as in property offenses, age has a direct negative effect on violent crime. Like property offenses, it appears that younger respondents are more likely to be involved in violent crime. This supports the speculation made in research question 1 I. However, as in the previous model, age makes it presence felt through other variables; specifically, through the time spent living on the street. Again older respondents were more likely to live on the street, which in turn increased the risk of violent offenses. Continuing our examination of the exogenous variables we discover that respondents from higher status backgrounds were more likely to be involved in violent behavior. This result is interesting and further analysis aids explanation. As we already know from our review in Chapter 5, there are more lower status respondents on the street in terms of absolute numbers (127 respondents from blue collar backgrounds versus 69 respondents from white collar backgrounds). There are also more serious violent offenders in the blue collar background ranks (45 blue collar respondents reported 10 or more violent offenses compared to 31 white collar respondents). However, it is in terms of proportions, that higher status youth are more likely to be serious violent offenders. For example, the 31 respondents from white collar backgrounds who reported over 10 violent offenses represent

TABLE 7.6
PATH COEFFICIENTS VIOLENT CRIME MODEL

DEPENDENT VARIABLES
STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	NFA	FINANCE	ATTACK ON DRUGS	VIOLENT CRIME
AGE	.174**	NS	NS	-.272****
CLASS	NS	NS	NS	.196***
COERCIVE	.263***	NS	.183**	.166**
PRIOR DEL	NS	NS	.225***	.150**
NFA	-	NS	NS	.192**
FINANCE	-	-	NS	.151**
ATTACK ON DRUGS	-	-	-	.415****

R2 .491 SIG. F=.0000
ADJUSTED R2 .471
N=192

* SIG AT .05
** SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

45% of all white collar background respondents. In contrast, the 45 respondents from blue collar backgrounds who reported over 10 violent offenses in the past year make up only 35.4% of the blue collar background respondents. Thus, a greater percentage of the higher status youth, as compared to lower status youth, are serious offenders, although in terms of the sheer number of serious violent offenders, higher status youth lag behind their lower status peers.

Turning to the coercive control variable, we see first that it is basically uncorrelated with social status. That is, no social class appeared more prone to distribute coercive control. Further, consistent with research question 1 B, it had a direct effect on violent crime. Respondents with histories of serious serial physical discipline and abuse were more likely to behave violently. It comes as no surprise that the more coercive control the respondent had experienced when living at home, the greater the chance that he would end up on the street and experience long term homelessness. This finding is consistent with the explanations offered by the youth in our qualitative review. Many suggested they left their abusive environments for the streets. These victims of physical abuse were also more likely to attack people when under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. Thus, a history of violent victimization seems to be a fertile breeding ground for the creation of a violent offender. Those who experience violent victimization seem to use similar tactics outside of the home. It may be the case that they come learn that violence is a method of expressing anger, settling disputes, and gaining compliance. They may also learn to exhibit these responses under certain physiological states. Recall in the qualitative analysis that many respondents drew a link between drugs and/or alcohol and parental violence. Perhaps respondents learn that it is under these conditions where violence is most expected, or tolerated, and act accordingly. As speculated in research question 3 C, intoxication appears to free or push respondents into violent behavior when certain situations arise.

The last exogenous variable in our model is the respondents' prior delinquency. Again, its correlation with the other background variables, particularly, class background and coercive control is quite modest. Thus, there appears to be little relationship between class background and prior delinquency, or coercive control and prior delinquency. However, those respondents who were high rate offenders preceding their independence from the parental home, were at greater risk to be involved in violent crime. This supports the conjectures made in research question 1 F. Further, these early high risk respondents were more likely to attack people while under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

To guard for the possible contamination effects of a variable that asks particularly for violent offenses when intoxicated, the model was re-estimated substituting the potentially offending variable with a marijuana use variable, an alcohol use variable and a combined alcohol/marijuana use variable. None of these three variables made significant contributions to the model upon their separate inclusions. Further, the low alpha coefficient for the combined variable (.476) suggested that those who drink a great deal do not necessarily use marijuana a great deal and vice versa. Instead there appears to be drinkers and stoners. Further, degree of use does not appear important in explaining violent behavior. Instead, it is the actual intoxication, and the rules that surround intoxication, that best explains the violent behavior.

What is interesting is that the experience of living on the street, does not increase the likelihood of attacking people while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. This phenomenon appears to be influenced by factors that are put in motion before the respondents end up on the street and we would guess that these respondents would react violently under these conditions even if they were not living on the street.

Yet the length of time spent living on the street is an important contributor to explaining violent crime. Those who had lived on the street longer tended to engage in more violent behavior. Therefore, outside of the background factors that appear to have strong effects leading to attacking people when under the influence of drugs and alcohol, the street provides the environment, opportunities, situations, and circumstances that lead to an increase in violent behavior where drugs and alcohol are not involved. The risky lifestyle increases the likelihood that violence will be required. However, prior experience with violence in the home influences respondents' reactions to situations they are placed in as a result of their homelessness. Those who experience the most coercive control in their homelifes were the most likely to access violent responses when on the street. Again we might suggest that they learn how to respond to disputes from their home experiences.

It is also the case that spending a great deal of time on the street presents the respondents with abundant opportunities to witness different styles of conflict management. They may learn from being on the street that violence is the method most often utilized to settle conflict. This reinforces the experiences of those who have experienced violence at home and becomes the favoured method of responding to disputes.

They may also be influenced by street expectations. Much of the violence on the street appeared to be guided by rules of retributive justice. If a respondent was wronged in terms of business dealings, derogations of self, or physical victimization, he was expected to avenge his victimization with violence. Recall that much of the non-robbery violence discussed in Chapter 6 revolved around self-image defense. Disputes were expected to be settled either through violence or the threat of violence. In fact, it was this reality that might have served to inhibit some of the violence on the street. The threat of violence guided behavior somewhat so that infractions that might provoke violent responses were avoided to a degree. There was a recognition that if the respondent wronged someone he could expect retaliation. However, once the breach occurred, the prognostication for violent retaliation was usually fulfilled. Further, the retributional response was often reciprocated with counteraction that began a cycle of avengement on the part of both parties. Thus, the street provides both the social experiences that guide respondents behavior as well as the locales, environments and situations where violence is more likely. At the same time respondents bring to the street their experiences from violent homes that also influence their responses to the situations they are placed in on the street.

Of course the street also offers increased opportunities for violent offenses like robbery. There is a greater likelihood that offenders will intersect in time and space with attractive targets lacking guardianship that may increase the occasions for this type of crime. It would seem that those who have learned through familial victimization to gain compliance and settle disputes with conflict are more likely to access these type of offenses. They are more successful at these type of crimes because they are willing to threaten or utilize force to gain items from victims. Robbery is another environment where violence captures the desired outcome the respondent is searching for.

The final variable to be discussed in our violent crime model is the perception of financial well-being. Those respondents who expressed satisfaction with their financial situations (perceptually not objectively) were more likely to be involved in violent crime. This is counter to theoretical expectations (see research question 4 E) but is reconcilable. For some respondents there is the realization that violent crime can be a profitable behavior. As we saw in Chapter 6 more than half of the violent offenses committed by these youths were robberies. Further, many of the successful criminals are involved in activities where claims about product (bad drugs, fake gems) are made by disgruntled customers. Many of these call for retribution. The selective use of violence is a necessary component of other major criminal activities. Those who are more successful, in terms of moving the most product, are also more exposed to having claims made against them because of the sheer number of transactions they are involved in. Thus, the need to utilize violence to counteract claims and regain street integrity is bred from success and because of the extent of their illegal achievements, is applied quite regularly.

The R2 for the violent crime model is .491 (Adjusted R2 = .471) and is significant at the F level .0000. This model explains around 49 percent of the variance in violent crime.

Yet the explanation of violent crime is much different from that for property crime. In contrast to property crime, violent crime is heavily influenced by historical and contemporary experiences. Those with violent backgrounds are at extreme risk for violent behavior whether on the street or not and it appears that we might be able to identify the violent offender early on in his career. These types of environments supply the experiences that guide the respondents behaviors later in life. Violence becomes a method of expressing anger, settling disputes, gaining compliance and generally producing desired outcomes. Yet what appears to set off much of this behavior are current situational factors: being intoxicated or living on the street. It appears that being drunk or stoned permits or encourages violent behavior a fact not lost on the respondents when asked about their violent victimizations in the home. Yet, the street also contributes to this behavior by providing more evidence that violence is a desired method of conflict management, a method to gain compliance, and an expected behavior in response to certain behaviors. The street also increases the opportunities to become involved in violence in terms of both potential robbery targets and risky environments where disputes regularly escalate to violent conflicts. Thus, those who come to the street predisposed to violent behavior are provided a stage for violent activity that reinforces prior dispositions. Our examination of violent crime complete, we move on to an examination of the sales if illegal drugs.

DRUG SALES

Table 7.7 indicates that 6 variables are available for model construction to explain the sale of illegal drugs. Four background factors were important in explaining drug sales: social class, family structure, instrumental control and the last grade completed in school. Only 2 other variables met tolerance requirements in the initial regression procedures. The first was the interpretive variable of guilt and the other, a street factor, street involvement. When all of these variables were included in a regression equation simultaneously, guilt failed to meet the tolerance requirements of a T level of .05. and was eliminated from further procedures. ANOVA procedures utilized to explore for potential 2-way interaction effects between the modelled variables once again failed to uncover any significant interactions.

Figure 3 illustrates the model constructed to explain the sale of illegal drugs. The background variables again begin our causal sequencing. They are followed by street involvement. Again it is assumed that these background variables might influence respondents' street involvement which in turn may lead to certain behaviors.

TABLE 7.7
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES EXPLAINING DRUG SALES

STANDARD REGRESSION	BETA	BACKWARDS ELIMINATION	BETA
CLASS	.191**	CLASS	.176**
FAMILY STRUCTURE	.196**	FAMILY STRUCTURE	.197**
EDUCATION	.165*	EDUCATION	.140*
STREET INVOLVE	.500****	STREET INVOLVE	.469****
		INSTRUM CONTROL	.140*
		GUILT	.122*

* SIG AT .05
** SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

DRUG SALES MODEL

Figure 3 demonstrates that most of the variables in the model are independent of one another. That is, there are few causal connections between the independent variables, only direct effects on the dependent variable drug sales. Looking first at the exogenous variables we see that those from higher status families are more likely to be involved in selling illegal drugs. The explanation here echoes the one described above in the section on violent crime. There are more respondents from blue collar backgrounds on the street and in terms of absolute numbers they are more serious drug dealers. However, the 27 of the 69 respondents from white collar backgrounds who had conducted 100 or more sales in the last year represent 39% of the respondents from white collar backgrounds. In comparison, the 36 of the 127 respondents from blue collar backgrounds who sold drugs more than 100 times in the last year represent only 28% of the respondents from blue collar backgrounds. Those respondents from single guardian households also tended to conduct a greater amount of illegal drug transactions and we see that the single parent household tends to be correlated with lower status households.

PLACE FIGURE 3 HERE

TABLE 7.8
PATH COEFFICIENTS DRUG SALES MODEL

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	STREET INVOLV	DRUG SALES
CLASS	NS	.179**
FAM STRUCT	NS	.187**
INSTRUMENTAL	-.204**	-.162**
EDUCATION	NS	.135*
STREET INVOLVEMENT	-	.492****

R2 .343 SIG. F=.0000
ADJUSTED R2 .326
N=196

---

* SIG AT .05
** SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

In our building of research questions we speculated that both class and family structure might be correlated with instrumental control. While instrumental control appears to be an important factor in explaining illegal drug sales it was not highly correlated with either of the other background variables. However, consistent with research question 1 A those respondents who came from families where their parents did not know where they were, and did not know who they were with, when they were out of the house, were more at risk for criminal behavior. Thus, regardless of class, or family structure, the absence of instrumental control led to increased criminal behavior in the form of the sale of illegal drugs. Figure 3 also reveals that respondents who experienced little instrumental control were more likely to become involved in a street lifestyle where one of the central activities was criminal behavior to obtain drugs and/or alcohol. Further, as was demonstrated in our model of property crime, street involvement has a strong direct effect on criminal behavior, which in this case is the selling of illegal drugs.

The last exogenous background variable, education, was moderately correlated to class background. Those from higher class backgrounds tended to have completed more education. The variable had little correlation with the other background variables. However, education did have a direct effect on drug activities. The more education the respondent had completed, the greater were the odds of becoming involved in drug crime. This is in contrast to speculations we made earlier considering the role of education in the labour market and crime (see research question 1 F). It was thought that the amount of education completed would affect the employment opportunities available to respondents. It was expected that the lack of accreditation would decrease respondents' abilities to obtain employment which in turn might lead to criminal behavior to overcome the lack of financial resources.

How can we reconcile the relationship between greater education and drug sales. It may be the case that respondents who complete more education do so because they possess the skills and characteristics that allow them to succeed in school (Cohen, 1955). They may have came from backgrounds that foster such values as ambition, achievement, rationality, and the constructive use of time; values that assist the youths success in school and the labour market. The correlation matrix (see Appendix A) indicates that these youth did voice a greater commitment and attachment to school and experienced greater levels of relational control all of which suggest some transference of the described values. However, despite their educational superiority relative to the others in the sample, these youth are faced with a labour market that makes the occupational goals they have been prepared to fulfill unobtainable. The higher expectations these youth may bring with them, and the failure to meet these expectations, leads them to access the illegal labour market; in particular, drug distribution, the most profitable of illegitimate activities. We might argue that their prior preparation for success in conventional society allows them to participate in these illegal ventures with greater success than their lesser skilled peers. The values they have assimilated (ambition, rationality, and the constructive use of time), influence their approaches to illegal activities, leading them to adopt more structured entrepreneurial tactics that lead to a greater movement of product, a larger clientele, and substantial profits.

The strongest variable in the model is street involvement. Those respondents who are caught up in lifestyle where they engage in criminal acts to obtain funds for drugs and alcohol are at increased risk to sell drugs. From the qualitative responses we saw that many of those who deal drugs, do so to support drug habits. This appears to be a rational choice for most dealers. First, the immediate availability of the substance at hand makes it attractive. Second, the potential profits to be made are probably greater than those in the other types of crimes. And third, drug trafficking is less risky in terms of being caught and sanctioned in comparison to other offenses (Sullivan, 1989). Thus, as these youth become entrenched in a street lifestyle, it makes more sense to have drugs at hand and pay for their use through selling them rather than constantly having to find cash through risky means. They eliminate the middle man, feed their habits, and make a healthy profit to help feed, and in some cases house themselves.

Conspicuous by their absence in the drug model are age and the length of time the respondents had spent living on the street. In research question 1 I we speculated that age might have an effect on the type of crimes respondents undertook. Figures 1 and 2 both reveal that age had a direct effect on property and violent crime. Younger respondents were more likely to be involved in both types of offenses. However, age also made its presence felt in those models through the length of time the respondent had lived on the street. Older respondents tended to live on the street and the longer respondents lived on the street the greater their criminal conduct. However, both age and time on the street disappear from the drug model. The variable of vital importance in this model is street involvement. It appears that regardless of age, or living circumstances, those who have serious drug and alcohol habits are more likely to deal illegal substances. They are caught in a lifestyle that supports their drug use financially and socially and appears to allow many of them to house themselves with their sometimes considerable profits.

TOTAL CRIME

We have just examined three different models explaining three different types of crime. Each of these models shared certain variables while at the same time revealed important components that were unique to each particular type of crime. Yet there are indications that many offenders do not specialize in the offenses they undertake. Some offenders are involved in a cross-section of offenses including all three of the broad offense types just examined. The correlation matrix in Appendix A supports this. The Pearson r between property crime and violent crime is .525. This suggests that those who engage in property crime also tend to be violent offenders as well. Property crime is alsorelated, to a lesser degree, to drug offenses (r=.324) introducing the idea that property offenders also deal drugs. Finally, drug offenses are themselves correlated with violent crime (r=.421) indicating that drug dealers tend also to be involved in violent criminal activities. To help understand these types of high rate, unspecialized offenders, we now move to the construction of a total crime model that takes into account property, violent and drug crime.

Our two regression procedures produced a total of 10 predictors from which to build a model to explain total crime (see Table 7.9). Three of these variables were the background factors of social class, family structure and instrumental control. Further, a labour market factor reaches significance in our equations for the first time. The length of time out of work and not looking for work met tolerance requirements in the equations explaining total crime. The street factors of length of homelessness and street involvement were once again determined to be important variables. Finally, a total of four interpretive factors were deemed suitable for inclusion into the path model: perceptions of interview/appearance adequacy, blocked legitimate opportunities, and perception of financial well-being as well as the level of guilt over unemployment.

These variables were first subjected to ANOVA procedures conducted to explore for 2-way interaction effects between modelled variables. Once again this effort proved to be futile in uncovering any significant interactions. With this analysis complete, the construction of the path model proceeded.
The ten variables provide a challenge in causal ordering and we are forced once again to rely on our theoretical and empirical review to help guide their placement. Consistent with the previous models, the three background factors are the exogenous variables that secure the intial stages of the developmental process. Again we assume that these 3 variables might influence all that follow them in the model as well as providing direct effects on the dependent variable.

TABLE 7.9
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES EXPLAINING TOTAL CRIME

STANDARD REGRESSION	BETA	BACKWARDS ELIMINATION	BETA
CLASS	.169**	CLASS	.181**
FAMILY STRUCTURE	.144*	FAMILY STRUCTURE	.160**
STRAIN	.147**	STRAIN	.145**
FINANCE	.124*		
GUILT	.134*	GUILT	.143**
LENGTH NFA	.186**	LENGTH NFA	.177**
STREET INVOLVE	.404****	STREET INVOLVE	.409****
DISCOURAGEMENT	.184*	DISCOURAGEMENT	.139*
		INSTRUM CONTROL	-.178**
		INTERVIEW/APPEAR	.120*

* SIG AT .05
** SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

In keeping with the theoretical arguements outlined earlier, we might expect that the time spent living on the street influences respondents' attributions, emotional reactions to unemployment, behavioral responses to unemployment, and absorption into a street lifestyle where crime, drugs and alcohol are indelibly linked. To once more exploit its pivotal theoretical role as an intervening and causal variable, time on the street was placed next in the sequence.

The positioning of the interpretive variables assumes that background factors as well as living on the street can influence respondents' attributions and emotional reactions. The attributional literature suggests that both negative events and social historical factors can influence people's attributions which in turn impact on behavior. For these reasons the interpretive variables, interview/appearance adequacy, blocked opportunities, and financial well-being were positioned next in the model. Similarly, from this same literature, it was argued that attributions and background factors could influence emotional responses that might impel respondents to criminal action. Thus, in Figure 4, the emotive variable of guilt was placed following the attributional and perceptual variables. Again we must be guarded in our

TABLE 7.10
PATH COEFFICIENTS TOTAL CRIME MODEL

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS				
	NFA	INTER	STRAIN	FINANCE	GUILT
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES					
CLASS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
FAM STRUC	NS	.190**	NS	NS	NS
INSTRUMENT	.290***	NS	NS	NS	NS
NFA	-	NS	NS	NS	NS
INTERVIEW	-	-	-	-	NS
STRAIN	-	-	-	-	NS
FINANCE	-	-	-	-	NS
GUILT	-	-	-	-	-
STREET INV	-	-	-	-	-
DISCOURAGED	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 7.10 CONTINUED
PATH COEFFICIENTS TOTAL CRIME MODEL CONTINUED

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS		
	STREET INVOLV	DISCOUR	TOTAL CRIME
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES			
CLASS	NS	NS	.205***
FAM STRUC	NS	NS	.151**
INSTRUMENT	-.154*	NS	-.176**
NFA	.172*	NS	.186**
INTERVIEW	NS	.163*	-.125*
STRAIN	.143*	NS	.124*
FINANCE	NS	NS	.107*
GUILT	NS	NS	-.104*
STREET INV	-	.248***	.396****
DISCOURAGED	-	-	.140**

R2 .509 SIG. F=.0000
ADJUSTED R2 .482
N=193

---

* SIG AT .05
** SIG AT .01
*** SIG AT .001
**** SIG AT .0001

interpretations with these variables since they may be behavioral rationalizations.

PLACE FIGURE 4 HERE

Corresponding with the prior models, street involvement was the next variable situated in Figure 4. As has already been discussed control theorists predict that involvement in a street lifestyle where crime is required to obtain drugs and alcohol can be the result of background factors alone. Yet time on the street can also lead to an increased exposure to this type of lifestyle as argued by routine activity theorists. Further, as speculated in the strain, subcultural and attributional work, the interpretive factors, may lead to the adoption of this type of lifestyle. Thus, this positioning takes advantage of the various possible causal paths speculated on by various theoretical camps.

The final independent variable placed in the model is discouragement. From a control perspective we might expect that the lack of bonding might lead youth to discard employment searches as the relevance of work becomes negated. However, from the attributional literature we might expect that perceptions and emotional reactions will influence behaviors including the degree one searches for employment and the amount of criminal behavior behavior one engages in. Recent empirical work suggests that becoming involved in a street lifestyle where drugs and crime go hand and hand leads to a isolation from conventional society and an decrease in the pertinence of employment. Similar to a control argument, the bond to conventional society through commitment to, and involvement in, conformist activities is severed leaving the youths to become involved in a gamut of illegal activities.

TOTAL CRIME MODEL

Estimation of the model depicted in Figure 4 followed the procedures outlined earlier. Significant paths were first identified through regression procedures. The results of these equations are displayed in Table 7.10.

To begin analysis of the results displayed in Figure 4 we move first to the exogenous variables. Once again we witness that social class has a strong direct effect on the respondents' criminal behavior. Respondents from higher socio-economic backgrounds are at greater risk for high rate offending. Consistent with previous findings, we find that in terms of absolute numbers there are more lower status youths on the street, and more of these youth are high rate offenders. However, proportionately, upper status youth commit more offenses than lower status youth. The 24 white collar background respondents who had committed more than 1000 total offenses made up 34.8 % of all the white collar respondents. In contrast the 35 blue collar background respondents who admitted to over 1000 represented only 27.6% of all blue collar respondents.

As with previous models we see that social class is moderately correlated with the respondents' family structure. Lower class families tend to be headed single guardians. In turn, youths from families where there is only a single guardian present are more inclined to engage in all types of criminal behavior. Further, those from single parent households are more likely to attribute their unemployment to inadequate appearances and interview skills. This internal attribution in turn decreases the tendency to engage in criminal behavior. This supports our earlier speculations on the role of attributions: those who attribute the cause of their unemployment internally are less likely to engage in crime (see research question 4 A).

Moving to our final exogenous variable, instrumental control, Figure 4 reveals that once again there is little correlation between it and the other background variables. Thus, neither the class background of the respondent, nor the structural make-up of the respondent's family was related to the amount of instrumental control experienced at home. However, those who experienced little in the way of supervision when living at home were more likely to become involved in high rates of criminal behavior.

The lack of instrumental control is also vital in explaining the length of the respondents' homelessness and their involvement in a street lifestyle surrounding drugs/alcohol and crime. Respondents whose parents did not know where they were when they were out of the house, and did not know who they were with when they were out, were at greater risk to spend significant amounts of time living on the street. Similarly, these neglected respondents tended to become more involved in the drugs/crime lifestyle. This suggests that the respondents were probably street participants prior to leaving home. However, homelessness, and as we will see, other interpretive variables, are also strong predictors of street involvement, suggesting that instrumental control is insufficient to fully explain the respondents immersion and imbeddedness in the street lifestyle.

As alluded to above, the length of time spent living on the street impinged on street involvement. The longer the respondent had been without a fixed address, the greater the entanglement in the street lifestyle. Further, as predicted earlier in research question 4 B external attributions in the form of perceptions of blocked opportunities increased the risk of criminal behavior. As speculated by strain theorists, blaming the system for unemployment led to an increased involvement in a street lifestyle where respondents are caught in a cycle where crime is needed to sustain drug and alcohol habits; habits that continue to grow and place increased demands for criminal behavior to obtain funds to purchase these substances.

As already revealed in our model of property crime, those who attribute the cause of their unemployment internally, in the form of poor interview skills and appearance, are less at risk for offending (see research question 4 A). However, this internal attribution also appears to decrease the likelihood that respondents will continue to search for employment. That is, they are less inclined to look for work when they are out of work than their peers who do not believe that their appearances and interview skills have impacted on their employment situation. Perhaps they believe they will not obtain employment because of these attributes and abandon what they forsee as a futile effort. Thus, the internal attribution lessens the direct risk of criminal behavior, while at the same time contributing to a discarded search for employment that serves to increase the chances of criminal behavior slightly. However, since this last effect is indirect, it is quite weak compared to the negative direct effect of the internal attribution.

The two other interpretive variables, perception of financial well-being and guilt, reveal independent direct effects. That is, they do not appear significantly affected by the other variables in the model and they themselves, affect no variables in the model. What the model does indicate, in contrast to theoretical speculation (see research question 4 E), is that those respondents who identify having sufficient monetary resources commit the most offenses. Reflecting back on our qualitative data, recall that many respondents repeatedly testified that they made significant amounts of money through criminal behavior and argued that this money was superior to that to be made within the legitimate labour market. This is consistent with our above findings and strengthens the argument that those who commit the most crime are those who have come to the conclusion that it offers them significant monetary rewards. Criminal behavior becomes a rational choice over poorly paid menial labour.

While none of the background, attributional or interpretive variables have an effect on guilt, guilt itself has a direct effect on criminal behavior. In fact, it is the lack of guilt that helps predict the total crime index. Respondents who expressed little negative emotion over their unemployment tended to commit the largest number of offenses. This lack of emotion, as speculated on in the qualitative data reveals a lack of attachment to the labour market and allows respondents to engage in criminal behavior without the emotional pangs that might deter behavior. These findings offer support for research question 4 C. However, Figure 4 once more reveals the lack of connection between the attributional variables and the emotive variables. This is in direct contrast with the predictions made in the attributional literature.

We now turn to decribe how the embeddedness in a street lifestyle tends to increase criminal behavior. Becoming involved in a lifestyle cycle where alcohol and drug abuse require criminal behavior to subsidize their use, leading to greater addictions and more criminal behavior, is the strongest predictor of total crime. This is certainly consistent with research question 3 C. Those who arrive at this lifestyle, do so for a number of reasons. They tend to have experienced insufficient instrumental control at home, to perceive their legitimate employment opportunities blocked, and are inclined to have experienced long term homelessness. All of these factors contribute to an introduction, intensification and augmentation of a street lifestyle which leads to enormous amounts of illegal behavior. Further, recalling the high collinearity of this variable with the illegal behavior under the influence variable, we can safely assume that much of criminal activity takes place when the respondents are stoned or drunk.

In addition to its direct effect on criminal behavior, serious participation in the street lifestyle also decreases the search for employment. The greater the street involvement, the less likely respondents searched for employment when out of work. The street lifestyle isolates these youth from employment and other aspects of conventional society making criminal behavior all the more prevalent. Satisfaction of drug and alcohol habits becomes the priority and criminal behavior is a more lucrative method of meeting these demands.

Similarly, those who do not internalize or accept blame for their joblessness, in terms of unsatisfactory appearances and interview skills, are more likely to drop out of the job market and engage in criminal behavior. Overall, not looking for a job when out of work increases criminal behavior, while continuing to search for employment during times of unemployment lessens the risk of criminal behavior. Searching for employment indicates a continuing bond to the conventional society despite unemployment. The paucity of effort, as outlined in research question 2 C, suggests a severed bond from the labour market and conventional society that make criminal activity more likely. This bond is battered by the respondents' street involvement and their unwillingness to accept blame for their unemployment.

The model depicted in Figure 4 explains almost 51% of the variance in Total Crime (R2 .509; Adjusted R2 .482) and together these variables provide the basis of a construction of understanding of the serious street youth offender. Their behavior appears to be influenced by background factors, attributional and emotive variables, homelessness and a lifestyle centered around drugs, alcohol and criminal behavior. These youth tend to have experienced little instrumental control in their parental home, they tend see their opportunities for legitimate employment blocked and refuse to take the blame for their unemployment. Some of these perceptions are influenced by their homelessness, but homelessness, and these causal interpretations all lead to an increased street participation. Street participation and the unwillingness to accept culpability for their joblessness, decreases the searches for employment. At the same time there is little negative emotion expressed over their unemployment. Instead there is the realization that illegal activities provide an alternate source of financial resources that are superior to those available in the legitimate labour market. Together all of these factors contribute to explaining the extremely high rates of criminal behavior in this sample of street youth.

Figure 1 Property Crime Model

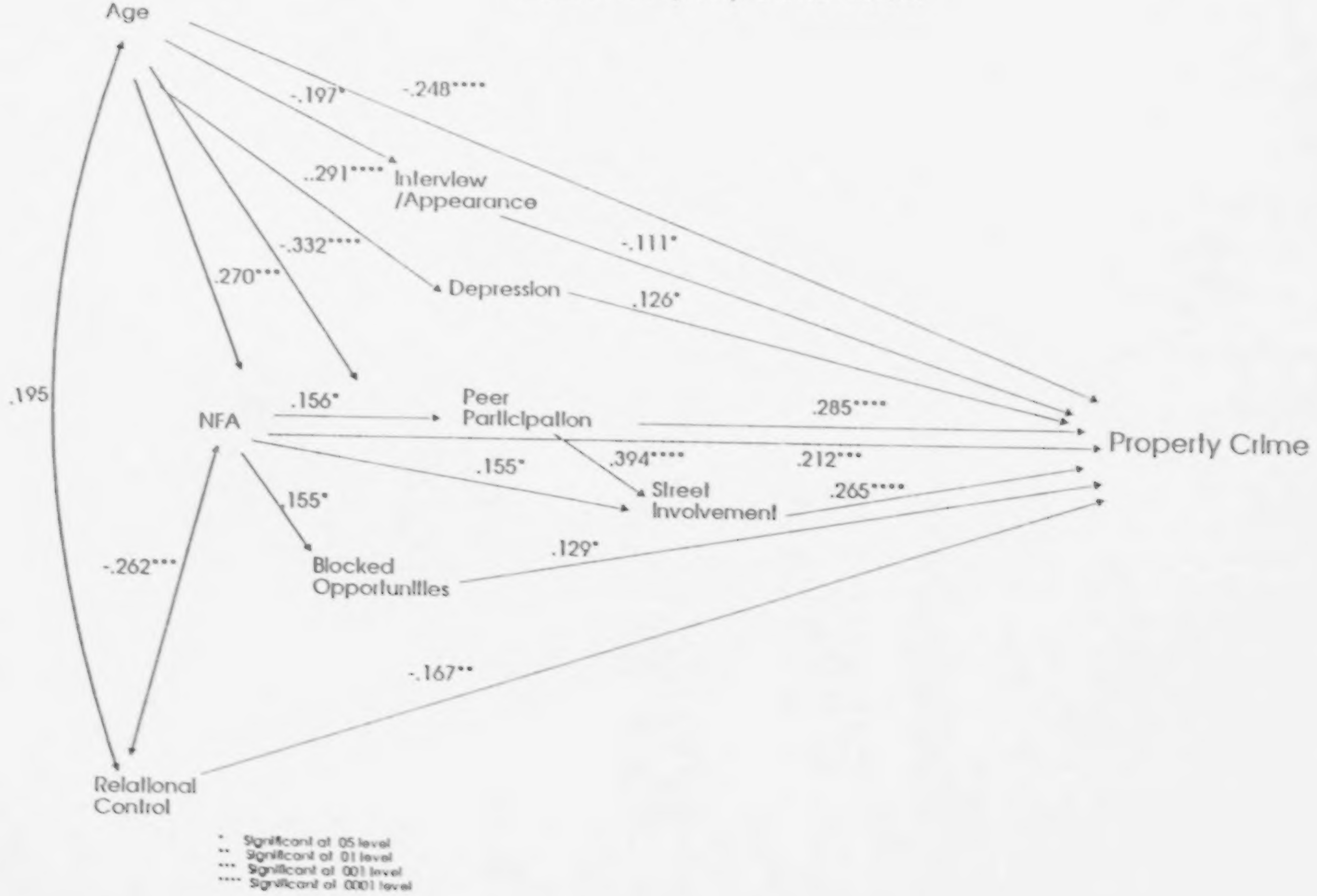

Age
-.197*
-.248****
..291****
Interview /Appearance
-.111*
-.332****
.270***
Depression
.126*
.195
NFA
.156*
Peer Participation
.285****
.394****
.212***
Property Crime
.155*
Street Involvement
.265****
155*
Blocked Opportunities
.129*
-.262***
-.167**
Relational Control
* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level

Figure 2 Violent Crime Model

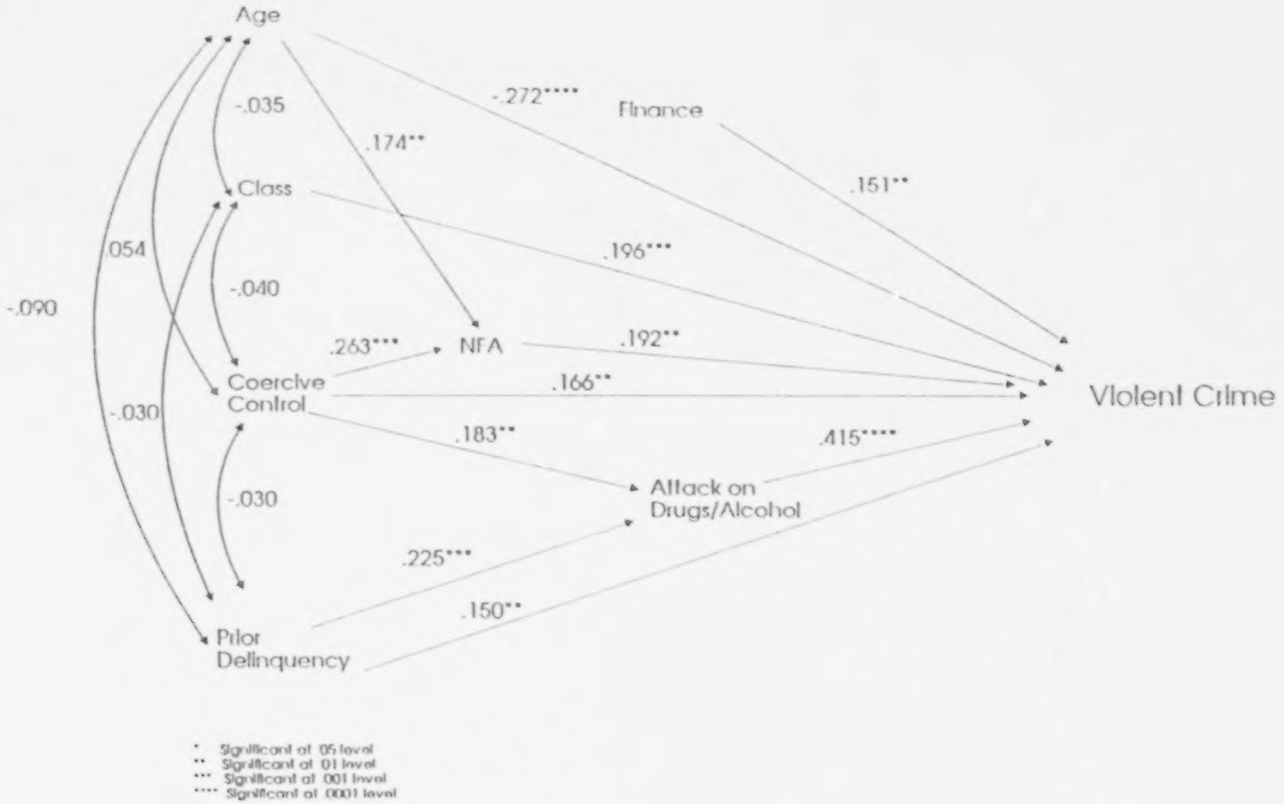

Age
Class
Coercive Control
Prior Delinquency
NFA
Finance
Attack on Drugs/Alcohol
Violent Crime
-.035
-.040
-.030
.054
-.030
-.090
.174**
-.272****
.151**
.196***
.263***
.192**
.166**
.183**
.415****
.225***
.150**
* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level

Figure 3 Drug Crime Model

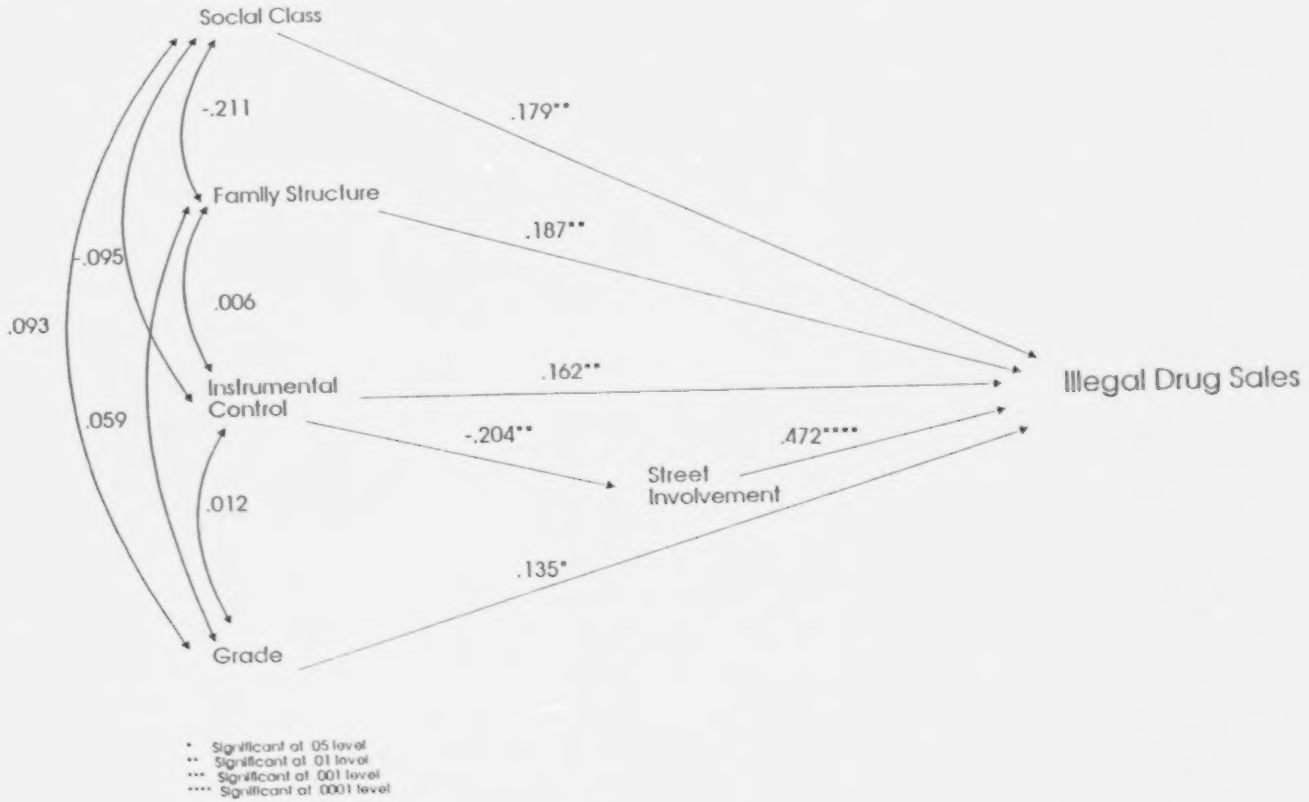
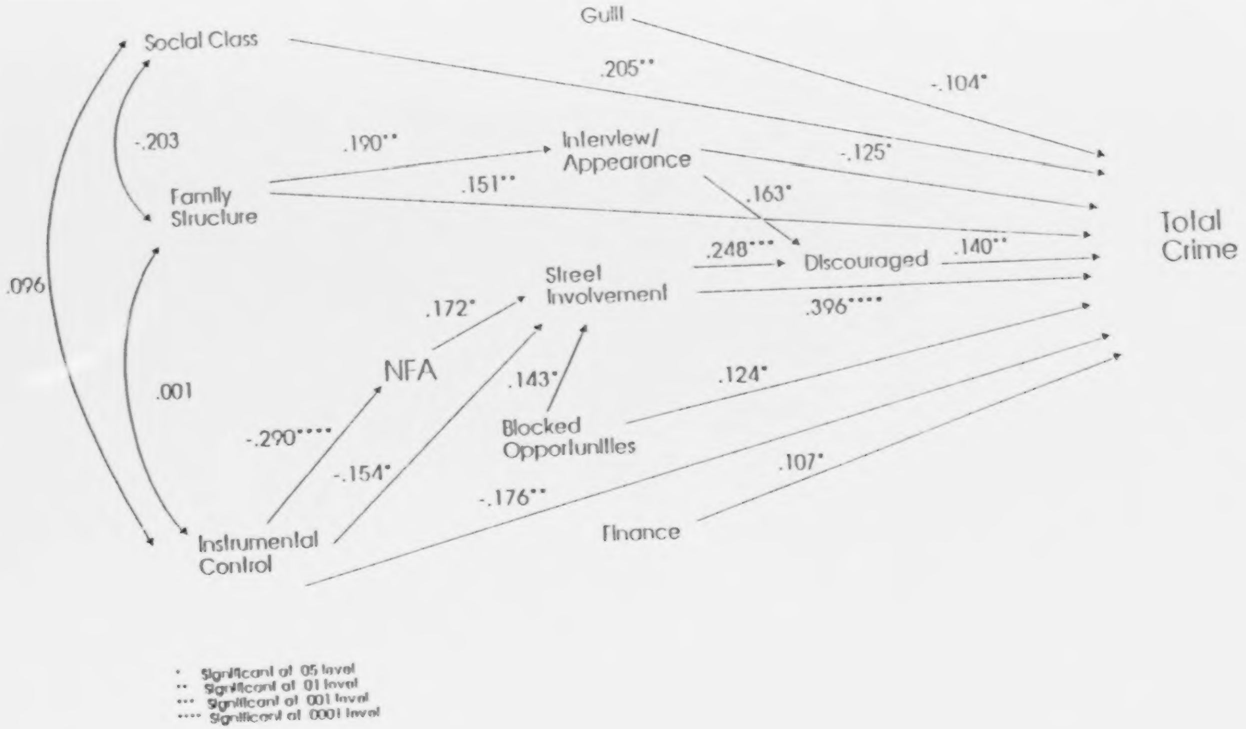

Social Class
Family Structure
Instrumental Control
Grade
Street Involvement
Illegal Drug Sales
-.211
-.095
.093
.006
.059
.012
.179**
.187**
.162**
-.204**
.472****
.135*
* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level

Figure 4 Total Crime Model


Social Class
Guilt
.205**
-.104*
-.203
.190**
Interview/
Appearance
-.125*
Family
Structure
.151**
.163*
Total
Crime
.248***
Discouraged
.140**
.096
Street
Involvement
.172*
.396****
NFA
.143*
.124*
.001
Blocked
Opportunities
-.290****
-.154*
.107*
-.176**
Finance
Instrumental
Control
* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level

ENDNOTES

1.A note should be made here about tests of significance. In most circumstances in which B (Beta) is determined, the intention of the investigator is to provide valid inferences from the data at hand to some larger population. While there are no assumptions necessary for the computation of these tests, it is generally acknowledged that these tests are based on certain assumptions that must be met in order for these tests to be valid. One of these assumptions is the presence of a random sample. As already discussed in Chapter 4, the construction of a sampling frame from which to draw a random sample of street youth is impossible. However, as already outlined, we have drawn a large sample to compensate for the inability to draw a random sample. This sample was drawn on the logic that the closer the sample came to matching the population the more likely its variability would be captured. Note, that we have in no way sampled the entire street youth population of Edmonton, a procedure which in itself would eliminate the need for significance tests. Nevertheless, the available evidence suggests that even fairly substantial departures from the assumptions will frequently result in little error of inference when the data are treated as if the assumptions were valid (Binder, 1959; Boneau, 1969; Cochran, 1947; Cohen and Cohen, 1983; Havilcek and Peterson, 1977).

2.This procedure necessitates the recoding of variables to test for interaction effects. In this case, age was tricotomized: those between 12 and 16; those 17-19; and those 20-24. The degree of peer participation in the respondents' criminal activities was dichotomized: those with no or little peer participation; those with a great deal of peer participation. These 2 variables were then entered by themselves to test for a 2-way interaction effect, while the 6 other variables in the property crime model were entered as covariates.

3.Again this procedure necesitated the recoding of the relevant variables. The length of homelessness variable was trichotomized: those who had not lived on the street in the last year, those who had lived on the street 1-3 months and those who had lived on the street 4-12 months. The perception of blocked opportunity variable was dichotomized into those who did not perceive thier legitimate opportunites as blocked as those who did. These two variables were entered into the equation by themselves to test for 2-way interaction effects, with the 6 other variables in the property crime model entered as covariates.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter we review the results of the previous data analysis. We organize our discussion based on the four broad research questions and the 24 specific hypotheses that guided the dissertation. In doing so we explore and discuss areas where theoretical explanations and expectations are supported and attempt to decipher and resolve areas where the data provide null and/or contradictory results. This exercise serves not only to summarize the data but provides a forum for theoretical reconstruction, refinement and speculation. Further, it allows for the development of future research suggestions and questions on the important dimensions of unemployment, street youth and crime.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

In Chapter Three of the dissertation we presented four broad research questions that evolved out of the theoretical and empirical literature on unemployment, homelessness, and crime. Each research question tackled a different dimension of street youths' lives in an endeavour to discover their role in the generation of criminal behavior. These four dimensions can be generally categorized as background factors, labour market factors, street factors, and attributional and affective factors.

These four research questions served as umbrellas to a number of more specific hypotheses. These detailed inquiries were examined utilizing a combination of qualitative and quantitative data. The movement between the two types of data served to support, help illuminate, or reconcile various findings and provided a more detailed understanding of the youths under study. In short, it served to strengthen our grasp of the patterns and structures that help explain the relationship between street youth, unemployment, and crime. We move now to a summary of our first research question.

BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CRIME

INSTRUMENTAL, RELATIONAL AND COERCIVE CONTROL

Our first broad research question asked how street youths' home, school and criminal backgrounds influenced their criminal behavior? Research hypothesis 1 A suggested that those youths who experienced less instrumental and relational control would be more involved in criminal activities. Hypothesis 1 B intimated that those youth who experienced more coercive control were at greater risk for illegal behavior. The qualitative data indicated that a majority of the respondents experienced little instrumental or relational control in their homes. That is, parents rarely knew where the child was when he was out and infrequently knew who he was with. Further, the relationships between the child and the parent were often characterized by a lack of communication and understanding and were fraught with conflict. The data also identified that the majority of the youth had experienced regular physical discipline at the hands of their guardians and a large minority of the youth had been subjected to serial physical abuse.

The quantitative analysis revealed that these various measures partially explained different types of criminal behavior. First, instrumental control influenced both the sale of illegal drugs and the total crime measure directly. The less instrumental control the respondents had experienced when living at home the greater their involvement in drug sales and crimes of all types. Further, the lack of instrumental control also helped to partially explain the length of the respondents' homelessness (see Figure 4) and their immersion into a street lifestyle where drugs and crime were indelibly interlocked (see Figure 3). Those who experienced little instrumental control when living at home tended to become involved in this street "scene" and were at greater risk for long periods of homelessness. Thus, the lack of supervision, where the behaviors, peers and travels of the child are left unmonitored, permits the child to roam and live on the streets participating in a gamut of illegal behaviors, including the selling of illegal drugs.

In contrast, the relational control measure directly affected respondents' tendencies towards property crime. Those youth who experienced little relational control when living at home engaged in a large number of property offenses (see Figure 1). Further, as in the instrumental control measure, the lack of relational control contributed to the explanation of the length of the respondents' homelessness (see Figure 1). The lack of parental attachment suggests a void in terms of the youths' sensitivity to parental expectations, leaving them free to spend time on the street and undertake large numbers of property offenses.

Finally, the coercive control measure contributed significant explanation to our understanding of violent crime. Those who had experienced serial physical abuse when they lived at home were revealed to be more prone to becoming violent offenders. It was argued that through the violent experiences in their homes, the respondents learn that violence is a method of gaining compliance, settling disputes and managing conflict. They utilize this knowledge in their own interactions, reproducing some of the behaviors by which they have been victimized. This suggests a process where rules are acquired through vicarious learning and past experience. As Hocker and Wilmot (1985) argue, people learn conflict styles by observing others' behavior and trying different responses. Thus, coercive control appears to not only detach the child from the family, but also schools him in conflict techniques. Coercive control also helped explain the respondents' tendencies to attack others while under the influence of drugs and alcohol. Our qualitative data revealed that many of the respondents' victimizations in the home took place while guardians were under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. It was concluded that respondents make a connection between intoxication and the generation, acceptance, and/or toleration of violence. Like the above, this suggests that patterns and expectations about behavior in certain situations are linked to past experiences.

In addition, as was already revealed above in our discussion of the instrumental and relational control measures, coercive control partially explains the length of the respondents' homelessness. The qualitative data revealed that many of the youths' in the study fled their parental homes to avoid the serial physical abuse. The street was viewed as a positive alternative to the violence they were subjected to by guardians.

In sum, at least one of these three familial control measures was featured in each our path models. They appear to not only directly affect the types of offenses the respondents engage in but are also influential in explaining the length of their homelessness and their immersion into a street lifestyle. Those who experience little relational or instrumental control, and an excess of coercive control tend to live on the streets for greater lengths of time and enter into a street culture where drugs, alcohol and crime become inseparable. Together, the data support both research hypotheses 1 A and 1 B. They also support the basics of control theory (Hirschi, 1969) and suggest that background control measures are important in explaining street youths' homelessness, street participation and criminal behavior. They also bring to light evidence of conflict styles that vary by individual experience and exposure to violent victimization (Hocker and Wilmot, 1985).

SOCIAL STATUS, FAMILY STRUCTURE AND FAMILY UNEMPLOYMENT

In research hypotheses 1 C and 1 D we expressed uncertainty over the roles social status and family structure might play in the generation of delinquency amongst street youth. While it was acknowledged that youths from lower social status backgrounds, reconstituted families, and single parent homes might be more at risk for criminal behavior, it was also recognized that these types of families may be more inclined to suffer from problems of instrumental and relational control. Thus, we ventured that it might be the absence or presence of the social controls within these families, not their class location or structure that influences delinquency.

The sample included a predominance of blue collar background respondents, restructured families and single parent households. However, it was discovered that respondents from higher social status families tended to commit more violent crimes, sell more drugs, and undertake more total offenses than their lower status peers. This was an unexpected and surprising result that required further examination. Additional analysis indicated that although there were more lower status respondents on the street, and in terms of sheer figures, a larger number of serious lower status offenders, there was proportionately a higher percentage of serious offenders with higher status backgrounds. That is, a greater percentage of those from higher status backgrounds were serious offenders. These results suggest that, while lower status youths are at greater risk to end up on the street, once on the street higher status youth are more likely to become serious offenders.

What might explain this? Perhaps respondents from higher status families are exposed to a "world view" that differs from that propagated in the homes of their lower status peers. For example, Hagan (1989) and Colvin and Pauly (1983) argue that delinquency is the result of the socialization to, and reproduction of, parental work relations in the private sphere. For Hagan delinquency is related to risk taking which is a function of an actor's preparation for participation in the sphere of production. This socialization for the preference of risk "is an anticipation of its role in the entrepreneurial and other activities associated with the production sphere" (Hagan, 1989:158). The result may be a correspondence in delinquent and entrepreneurial orientations. As Veblen observed "the ideal pecuniary man is like the ideal delinquent in his unscrupulous conversion of goods and persons to his own ends (1967:237). Higher status families may be more oriented towards the entrepreneurial socialization leading to increased risk taking. The development of aggressive individualism and the corresponding risk preferences may increase higher status youths assertiveness and contentiousness in their "business dealings." These attributes enable them to take the offensive in violent offenses, to be more skilled in terms of handling product in drug offenses and more successful overall as criminals. They have transferred the attitudes their parents use in the traditional sphere to the criminal sphere with similar and perhaps greater success.

Alternatively, it may be the case that higher status homes overpromote an ethic of success. Braithwaite (1979) proposes that while lower class crime may be caused by the failure to achieve success goals, upper class crime arises from unprincipled overcommitment to success goals. Thus, their failure to achieve legitimate success goals in tandem with the elevated expectations placed upon them due to class socialization may lead to increased criminal behavior.

Further, when the goals are stressed to a far greater degree than are the means (Merton's version of an anomic society (1938); see also Kornhauser, 1978), one would expect these youth to participate in a greater number of offenses.

It is doubtful that Braithwaite (1979) projected that higher status youth would conduct their crimes on the street rather than the "suite." Yet he would admit that opportunities affect crime. Since these youth have no opportunities for "suite crime," they take advantage of the opportunities that are available to them: street crime. If, as he argues, lower class people would commit crimes of power had they the opportunities, why not the reverse?

In summary, the data provide us with direction for hypothesis 1 C and point to the need for more research concerning the role of workplace reproduction and family socialization in the generation of delinquency.

Our social status measure was correlated with the family structure measure in the drug crime and total crime models (see Figures 3 and 4). Lower status families tended to be headed by single parents. However, there was little correlation between single parent families and degree of instrumental control as was speculated during the construction of hypotheses. Having only one guardian had little effect on the amount of instrumental control experienced within families and did not influence respondents' time on the street.

Overall, respondents from single parent families tended to sell more drugs and engage in more total offenses. Since children from these families experience similar amounts of social control as do those from two parent biological families, it is somewhat puzzling exactly how being from one of these types of families leads to a greater involvement in illegal behavior. One potential explanation is the complex interrelationship between broken homes and discord. While research in this area has yet to produce definitive results, it might be argued that the actual breaking up of the home is preceded by much disruption, disorganization and tension (Sterne, 1964; Wallerstein et al., 1980). Therefore, the broken home itself is not the major contributing factor to delinquency itself. Rather the tensions and problems that created and contributed to the actual breakup are the real causative factors with the eventual breakup only the final link in a long line of disruptive activity. There is a tension that exists prior to breakup resulting from hostility, hatred, bickering and the like. Abrahamsen (1960) argues that this type of tension-filled family environment is obviously not conducive to making the child feel content and secure. Long-term tension reduces family cohesiveness and affects the parent's ability to provide an atmosphere conducive to satisfactory child-rearing. Disruptive, quarrelsome, and tension -producing relationships between parents not only affect the marital relationship but disrupt the entire family (Rodman and Grams, 1967) as often children get caught up in parental quarrels (Trojanowicz and Morash, 1987). When tension and hostility exists in the home, the youths are often forced to find "peace" outside the home (McCord et al., 1959). Our qualitative data did reveal a great deal of discord between some guardians still together in relationships. Further it displayed that respondents were uncomfortable with the discord and reluctant to be drawn into the conflicts. One can only speculate that similar or perhaps more severe disruptions took place in the homes where relationships were dissolved. Thus, future research would do well to tap into parental marital/relationship discord and its influence on criminal behavior both in broken homes and those still intact.

Being from a single parent family also influenced the respondents' attributions for their unemployment. Those from single parent families tended to blame themselves for their unemployment by claiming they had inadequate appearances and/or interview skills.

Why might youths from single parent households, which tend to be lower status, and headed by females, blame themselves for their unemployment? Perhaps like the experiences that lead their higher status peers to become successful in the criminal sphere, it is the socialization of the workplace reproduced in the home (Colvin and Pauly, 1983). Many of the female parents in the sample are involved in the "secondary labour market" working "dead-end" jobs, with few prospects for advancement. Colvin and Pauly (1983) note that there is a large turnover of employees in this fraction which reflects the predominant control mechanism for worker discipline- threatened or actual dismissal from the job. This workplace control structure conditions the worker's orientation toward employers and employment.

Parents holding working positions that are inferior, tightly controlled, lacking in personal authority and regulated by those in superior positions may come to attribute under and unemployment to personal deficiencies. People in such positions may fall prey to a "dominant cultural representation tainted by individualism" (Moscovici and Hewstone, 1983:120). Here, an entrenched ideology of individualism is linked to such concepts as blame, merit, success and failure. Thus, the experience of the workplace may reinforce to these parents that they are to blame for their unemployment.

Lower status youths are exposed to these views through their parents' experiences in the workplace and come to blame themselves for their unemployment. Their limited experience and understanding leads to this internal attribution which in turn lessens their criminal behavior. However, as we will see below, it is the younger respondents who tend to make these internal attributions. In contrast, older respondents, particularly those who have lived on the street for great periods of time, tend to make external attributions for their unemployment. It may be the case that as respondents age, spend time out of their parental home and come to experience periods of homelessness and unemployment, they alter their attributions to an external realm which in turn leads to an increase in criminal behavior. The experience of homelessness, particularly long term homelessness, seems an important factor in the youths' recognition that they are not to blame for their unemployment. Instead their condition makes clear that unemployment is the result of obstructed legitimate employment opportunities rather than inadequate appearances and/or interview skills.

Nevertheless, the discovery that criminality is related to attributional location supports the theoretical conjectures made by attributional scholars: internal attributions lower the risk of criminal participation (Feather, 1990; Weiner et al., 1978; 1979). Yet, it would appear that these attributions are not "set in stone." Further research would do well to explore the development of these attributions and how street youths' experiences influence these attributions over time.

In research hypothesis 1 E it was inferred that respondents whose parents' had histories of unemployment might experience vicariously the harsh realities of the labour market, which in turn might serve to lessen their commitment to employment thereby leaving them more at risk for criminal behavior. While close to half of the respondents indicated that their parents had experienced unemployment, this variable had no significant effect in any of the models constructed in the dissertation. Interestingly, a perusal of the correlation matrix (see Appendix A) discloses a moderate correlation between family unemployment and both class and family structure. Lower status respondents were more likely to have experienced unemployment as were those from single parent families. If we return to our discussion above, we might again argue that what is transferred from the workplace is information that generates internal attributions for unemployment rather than experiences of alienation from employment making the importance of the parental employment history significant in a different sphere. Therefore, within this sample, there is no direct support for research hypothesis 1 E. This sums up the family related variables within research question 1. We move now to the hypothesis related to education and school commitment.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL COMMITMENT

In research hypothesis 1 F we speculated that the less education completed by the respondent, and the less school commitment displayed while attending school, the greater the likelihood of criminal behavior. It was discovered that the large majority of respondents had failed to complete a basic high school education and a sizeable number had educations that were modest at best. Further, many reported poor grades, frequent truancy, undone homework, and regular difficulties with school staff. It was thought that the poor work habits, truancy, and conflict with officials demonstrated an absence of an initial investment in conventional society that could be linked to criminal behavior. Further, it was expected that those youth who lacked credentials would have more difficulties obtaining employment leaving them at an even greater risk for criminal behavior.

Qualitative data revealed that respondents did indeed encounter difficulties securing employment because of their meagre educations. However, only one school variable made an appearance in our models: the highest grade completed had a direct effect on the sale of illegal drugs. The higher the level of education completed the greater the involvement in the dealing of drugs. This finding was in direct contrast to our hypothesis.

It may be the case that those who complete more education do so because they possess the skills and requirements that enable them to be successful in the school environment (Cohen, 1955). Cohen notes that some families, both middle and lower class, foster such values as ambition, achievement, rationality, and the constructive use of time that allow their children to succeed in school and eventually in the labour market. Youths who did well in school were subject to greater levels of relational control and did voice a greater attachment and commitment to school than did their lower educated peers. However, despite their educational superiority relative to their street peers, these youths encounter a labour market that makes the legitimate goals they have been prepared to fulfill unobtainable. The higher expectations they bring with them and the failure to achieve these expectations, leads them to access the illegitimate labour market; in particular, the most profitable of illegal activities, drug distribution. Their prior preparation enables them to participate in these illegal ventures with more success than their less skilled peers. The values of ambition, rationality, and the constructive use of time enable these respondents to approach their activities in a more structured entrepreneurial fashion that leads to a larger clientele, a greater movement of product, substantial profits, and hence a greater overall involvement in drug offenses.

Why did the school commitment variable fail to produce the expected effects? We speculated in our qualitative data analysis that dysfunctions within the family, as characterized by an absence of relational and instrumental control, contribute to the respondents' school difficulties. Lacking counsel and supervision, the youths failed to develop the commitment and skills necessary to become successful in the school environment. We have already discussed the importance of relational and instrumental control in the generation of delinquency. An examination of our correlation matrix (see Appendix A) reveals that both relational and instrumental control are moderately correlated with the school commitment variable. While this collinearity is not overwhelming, it may be the case that weak social controls within the family explain school commitment. The fact that children are delinquent and have problems in school may both be the result of deficient social controls within the family. Thus, delinquency is better explained by the common cause, inadequate relational and instrumental control. Overall then, there was little to uphold research question 1 F although this lack of support is understandable within the context of the data. These data suggest that a control perspective can contribute a great deal to our understanding of the processes leading to street youths' school problems and criminal behavior.

PRIOR CRIMINALITY

In research question 1 G we surmised that the more extensive the respondents' criminal involvement while living at home, the greater the risk of criminal behavior. The lack of instrumental and relational control, the surplus of coercive control, and the lack of commitment and attachment to school might lead to early delinquent behavior. It was argued that this delinquent behavior could serve as an anchor for the commission of further criminal acts. Furthermore, this early criminal behavior may further detach respondents from conventional society and inhibit them from reentry to it.

The data indicated that the large majority of the respondents were active in at least some sort of minor criminal activity prior to their homelessness and this activity was related to the early control measures (see Appendix A). However, the prior criminality measure proved to be significant in only one model: violent crime. The greater the respondents' delinquency when living at home, the greater the number of violent offenses they committed. Further, these early high rate offenders were more prone to attack people while under the influence of drugs and alcohol.

How was prior delinquency related to violent crime and the tendency to attack people while under the influence of drugs or alcohol? Within this model (see Figure 2) none of the variables (instrumental control, relational control, school commitment) correlated at the bivariate level with prior delinquency were significant contributors to explaining violent crime. Recall however, that attacking people while under the influence of drugs and alcohol is one of our measures of street involvement. The case can be made that prior delinquency provides an early introduction to the street lifestyle where violence, crime, drugs and alcohol go hand in hand. This exposure provides these youth with ample models of violence and provides them with access to the rules of conflict on the street. Hocker and Wilmot (1985) assume that people develop patterned responses to conflict. Decisions about style are made on the basis of past experience and learning. People learn conflict styles by observing other's behavior and trying different responses. Exposure to others' conflict styles, and the expectations about decisions and certain situations are impinged on by culture (Bernard, 1990). Bernard (1990) argues that social groups transmit rules specifying levels of aggression in certain situations. These rules are acquired through vicarious learning and maintained through reinforcement and instrumental learning. Thus, the culture and experiences of the youths may actually promote certain conflict styles. Early delinquents become aware of the principles governing retributive justice, and of violence being more accepted and/or tolerated under certain physiological states. Early entrants are more likely to access these rules because they have familiarized, internalized and utilized these rules of the street to guide their behavior on other occasions. Thus, prior delinquency leads to early entrance into all types of crime but, in particular, it is their early engagement and eventual absorption into the street lifestyle that leads to a greater participation in violent offenses.

The direct effect of prior delinquency on violent offenses suggests that respondents move from property offenses to include violent offenses in their repertoires as their delinquent careers progress. An examination of respondent reports of first offenses overwhelmingly points to property crime. Of the 191 respondents who reported their first offense, 163 indicated that this was a property offense of some sort. However, it appears that it is the most serious prior property offenders who advance towards widening their scope of offenses. Those who had higher rates of prior delinquency were more likely to become high rate violent offenders. As respondents mature and become better equipped physically to undertake violent offenses they begin to access them as quick sources of money (Sullivan, 1989). Thus, the data support hypothesis 1 G. and suggest that prior delinquency provides a launching pad into more serious criminal career. It allows for the diversification of offenses and exposes offenders to an environment and lifestyle that guides behavior and augments criminality.

CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES

In research hypothesis 1 H we argued that respondents who were not living at home were more at risk for criminal behavior. This risk was surmised to increase as the severity of their current living circumstances increased. It was argued that on the one hand, this heightened isolation from parental social control mechanisms; and on the other, separated respondents from parental economic safety nets at a time when self-sufficiency is fragile. Therefore, criminal behavior was anticipated amongst those attempting to satisfy their needs in severe circumstances. While the data pointed to a great deal of homelessness and independent living in scanty conditions, this variable failed to make an appearance in any of the four statistical models. Considering its extreme collinearity with the length of homelessness variable this was not unexpected (see Appendix A and Chapter 7 for a discussion). Those respondents who were homeless at the time of the interview tended to have been homeless for extremely long periods of time. Thus, current living circumstances made its presence felt through the strong homelessness variable which made a significant impact in three of the models and will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter. Nevertheless, there is little direct support for hypothesis 1 H.

AGE

In our final hypothesis (1 I) under research question one, we conjectured that younger respondents would be more involved in property and violent offenses while older respondents would be ensnared in the distribution of illegal drugs. Age did make a significant appearance in the property and violent crime models (see figures 1 and 2). Younger offenders tended to commit more property crimes and violent offenses. In particular, it was 17 and 18 year old respondents who were the high rate property offenders, while respondents between the ages of 16 and 18 tended to be the most serious violent offenders. This suggests the youths are not deterred by their evolution to adult status. That is, losing the status of young offender did not appear to initially inhibit the more serious property and violent offenders. Admittedly, some of the 18 year old respondents' numerous crimes committed in the year prior to the interview may have taken place when they were still 17, but the sheer number of offenses makes it unlikely that offending decreased significantly. Greenberg (1977) notes that the costs of crime do rise as offenders reach adult status. Further many offenders desist because of stakes in conformity created by employment. However, he argues that for those whose opportunities for employment are limited there are far fewer reasons to desist from illegal activities in young adulthood.

The drug crime model (see Figure 3) indicated that respondents of all ages were equally at risk to sell enormous amounts of illegal drugs. Nevertheless, it was the somewhat older respondents, those between the ages of 19 and 22 who were the most heavily involved in the distribution of illegal drugs. This pattern of younger property and violent offenders along with older drug dealers echoes the work of Sullivan (1989) in three New York neighbourhoods.

Age contributed to the explanation of property and violent offenses through other variables as well. For example, younger offenders had more direct access to criminal peers who participated in their criminal activities. This directly increased the property crime of the youngest of respondents. In fact, an interaction effect was discovered between age and criminal peers (see Table 7.3). It was those respondents under the age of 16 who tended to commit criminal offenses with the help of their peers. This supports Reiss's (1988) observation that while the typical offender engages in both solo and accomplice crimes, these solo offenses are considerably more common among adults than juveniles. It would also suggest, considering our earlier findings, that the most serious property offenders do not require criminal partners to the same degree as their younger peers.

Younger respondents also tended to make internal attributions for their unemployment which served to decrease their involvement in illegal property offenses. As discussed earlier, many of these youth came from lower status homes where we speculated that workplace socialization was reproduced making internal attributions more likely. Parents holding inferior employment that is tightly controlled, lacking in personal control, and regulated by those in superior positions may come to attribute their unemployment to personal deficiencies.

In contrast, it was older offenders who tended to have experienced long periods of homelessness. This in turn increased their risk of both property and violent offenses. It augmented their opportunities in both of the criminal spheres. Further, lengthier periods without an address tended to lead to external attributions for unemployment. This was the second interaction effect discovered in the property crime model (see Table 7.4). Those respondents who had spent extremely long periods of time on the street were more likely to view their legitimate opportunities for employment as blocked. This external attribution directly increased the number of property offenses committed, supporting both the attributional and strain literature. Living on the street also increased access to criminal peers for older respondents. Thus, in comparison to their younger peers, who appeared to have little problem accessing criminal peers, older respondents were able to secure criminal peers through the time they spent out on the street.

Our findings tend to support our research hypothesis. It appears that younger respondents tend to engage in the more risky property and violent offenses. We know from the qualitative data that many of these offenses are conducted with the purpose of obtaining funds to secure drugs and alcohol. However, it appears that those who abuse these substances to a greater extent, and older youths, are inclined to move to distributing illegal drugs after experiencing the limits of these other crimes as regular sources of income. Thus, as these youths' habits grow, and their legitimate channels close, it makes more sense to have drugs at hand and pay for their use through distribution rather than constantly resorting to risky offenses to secure funds. Thus, it appears that the older respondents make rational choices about their favoured illegal activities based on the rewards they provide.

This review has determined that a number of background variables are vital in explaining street youths' crime. The lack of instrumental and relational control, the abundance of coercive control, the social status of the respondent and the family structure of his household, the amount of education the respondent has completed, and his age and prior delinquency all provide us with valuable insights into the illegal behaviors of street youths. This summary has also made us aware that a number of theoretical perspectives facilitated our understanding of our findings, in particular, control theory, strain theory, social learning theory and the rational choice perspective. These theories make it clear that the behavior of street youth is the result of complex forces that are beyond the scope of one theory or group of variables. To demonstrate this further, we now move to an examination of research question two in an attempt to determine the importance of labour market factors in explaining some of these illegitimate activities

LABOUR MARKET FACTORS

JOBLESSNESS, UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISCOURAGEMENT

In research question two we asked to what extent unemployment and poor labour market integration are associated with street youths' involvement in crime. Our first hypothesis under this question (2 A) focused upon simple joblessness. Did the lack of work lead directly to criminal activity? The answer is a resounding no. This finding helps to explain the "consensus of doubt" (Chiricos, 1987) that has emerged and the difficulties researchers have found in trying to uncover the common sense relationship between unemployment and crime. The relationship appears to be much more complex than previously thought making the regularly utilized objective measure (having a job versus being jobless) impotent in its capacity to uncover the unrecognized intricacies that govern the relationship.

For our purposes, this finding is not at all surprising. We argued that the key to understanding the relationship between unemployment and crime involves the degree of attachment or detachment one has to, or from, the labour market. In research hypothesis 2 B we speculated that part of the period respondents were without work could be defined as unemployment in the sense that the youths were out of work but continued searching for employment. The fact that they continue to strive and search for employment suggests a bond to the labour market in spite of joblessness. We expected that those respondents who maintained and acted on their aspirations during periods of employment difficulties, were less at risk for criminal behavior. So we are not surprised that unemployment defined as simple joblessness failed to emerge as a significant predictor in any of the models.

However, we discovered that the unemployment variable was highly correlated with our discouragement measure. In research hypothesis 2 C we defined discouragement as the period of time the youths did not actively pursue work when they were without employment. We suggested that some youth become disenchanted with their labour market difficulties and cease to search for employment during periods of joblessness. In this situation the labour market loses its control over these respondents making them prime candidates for criminal behavior. It was also acknowledged that some of the respondents may never have been attached to the labour market and neglect to search for employment during periods of joblessness. In either case, the greater the length of this so called discouragement, the less stake in conformity, and the more minimal the sway the labour market has in inhibiting criminal behavior.

Results reveal that the length of the respondent's discouragement was significantly related to the total number of offenses committed. The greater the period of time the respondent was out of work and not actively looking for work, the higher the total number of crimes committed. Thus, those who drop out of the labour market are at a greater risk for crime while those who maintain their attachment and continue to search for employment when they lack work are less at risk to engage in criminal activities. Therefore, the data support research hypothesis 2 C. This finding also supports a control argument, where the deficient attachment and commitment to the labour market frees the youth to engage in a range of illegal behaviors. The relevance of work has been negated, and the bond to conventional society severed as the youth utilizes alternative methods of survival (Box, 1987; Hartnagel, 1990; Hirschi, 1969).

What contributes to this discouragement? First, respondents who made internal attributions for their unemployment, believing their interview skills and appearances to be inadequate, were more inclined to be discouraged. In contrast, those who remained attached to the labour market were less disposed towards making these types of internal attributions. External attributions had no direct effect on the respondents' discouragement.

Perhaps the greatest contributor to the disintegration of attachment to the labour market was the participation in a street lifestyle where crime, drugs and alcohol are entwined. The respondents caught up in this type of lifestyle rarely searched for work when they were out of a job. Thus, being caught on the street serves to dissipate and eventually destroy interest in the conventional labour market. This suggests that the street lifestyle may be a key intervening variable to target in our goal to reduce criminal behavior (Inciardi et al., 1993).

EMPLOYMENT HISTORIES

In research hypothesis 2 D it was surmised that the youths' employment histories might have an effect on their behavior. It was suspected that an unstable job history might create dissatisfaction with, and estrangement from, the labour market, leaving these youth more at risk for crime. Thus, we argued that the greater the number of jobs the respondents held in their lifetime, the greater their risk for criminal behavior. However, this variable failed to appear in any of our statistical models explaining the different types of criminal behavior. At the bivariate level (see Appendix A), it appears that total number of jobs signals some attachment to the labour market. This suggests that one of the reasons these respondents have had more jobs than their peers is that they search more regularly for work when they are out of work. Of course, the fact they have had so many jobs indicates that they have never held these jobs for long periods of time. From our qualitative review, we know that this may be the result of economic forces leading to layoffs, misbehavior leading to dismissal, or abandonment in search of better employment. Thus, while the data fail to support our hypothesis, the results are understandable with further exploration.

LEGAL INCOME

The final hypothesis that appeared under the second research question (2 E) predicted that unemployment may create financial hardship for those who experience it. The absolute amount of legal financial resources available may account for motivations to crime amongst the unemployed. The income distributions revealed that over half of the sample had no legal income available, with another quarter relying on minimal state assistance. However, the legal income variable failed to provide significant explanation in any of the models. Thus, at the most basic level, the idea that crime is the result of an insufficient amount of available funds is not supported. As we shall discover later, it is the subjective perception of financial well-being, rather than objective measures of prosperity that explain criminal behavior.

Like employment status, available income is one of the two variables that has been regularly utilized to test the unemployment-crime relationship. It appears that neither of these measures is an extremely important predictor of criminal behavior. Thus, studies focusing exclusively on these types of objective variables will be vulnerable to failure. In fact, labour market variables overall are poor predictors of criminal behavior. Only the length of discouragement and unemployment (redefined to measure the period out of work looking for work) help explain the criminal behavior of street youth. This supports critics' suggestions for the need to move beyond simple objective labour market variables towards the incorporation of more subjective variables in the exploration of the unemployment/crime phenomenon (Box, 1987; Box and Hale, 1985; Hartnagel, 1990; Horowitz, 1978; Macleod, 1987; Pearlin et. al., 1981).

One might also argue that the weakness of the legal income measure in terms of explanation brings into question the applicability of a rational choice approach in this situation. However, actors' calculations and computations may be based on both objective and subjective information and the interpretations of the objective information may themselves be formed through subjective perceptual means. Therefore, as we will soon see, the perception of financial well-being is the result of rational choice, making early abandonment of this perspective an error. With our examination of research question 2 complete, we move to research question 3.

STREET FACTORS
SUBCULTURAL INFLUENCES AND CRIMINAL STREET PEERS

In research question 3 we inquired into the effect street factors- peers, street involvement, substance abuse and homelessness- might have on criminal behaviors. In the first hypothesis constructed to examine this issue we focused on the peer pressure or subcultural influences of other street youth. We suggested that youths experiencing similar problems of adjustment in school or the labour market may seek out or form groups with others with similar difficulties and proceed to develop norms of behavior that allow the youths to gain status and financial rewards through delinquency. Therefore, we suspected that the jobless, homeless youth on the street who have contact with like others who support their delinquency would be more at risk for criminal behavior. However, results failed to support our conjectures. First, the frequency distribution indicated that the respondents expressed little concern for their friends' approval of their behavior. Second, the variable failed to reach significance in any of the path models constructed to explain criminal behavior.

In an attempt to make sense of the absence of peer pressure in the sample it was argued that unstable friendship networks on the street inhibit the development of strong norms. The social webs are constantly being altered and rebuilt as these youths move in and out of prison, drug and alcohol rehabilitation or the city itself. Furthermore, the sample contains a significant number of serious and older offenders who are less apt to be influenced by their peers (Reiss, 1988). These observations support Hagan's (1984) argument that there is an exaggerated perception of the organizational structure of delinquent groups and gangs. Reiss (1988) indicates that while most offenders have partners, the relationships with partners are likely to be short lived, meaning that active offenders require partnership arrangements with a number of different individuals. Most research suggests that even gangs are loose affiliations with minimal cohesion and low membership stability (Jansyn, 1966; Klein and Crawford, 1967; Short and Strodtbeck, 1965; Suttles, 1968).

In research hypothesis 3 B we argued that other criminally inclined youth on the street provide partners with whom to undertake crime. Thus, the greater the availability and willingness of peers to participate in criminal activities, the greater the criminal behavior. These criminal peers make certain activities less difficult and more appealing. They may help respondents to locate prime targets, assist the undertaking of certain offenses, and distribute the goods once acquired. The data provided a great deal of support for this hypothesis.

The frequency distribution revealed that a large number of the youths had been assisted in their criminal activities by peers and the property crime model supported this finding (see Figure 1). What these results imply is that the friendship networks on the street coalesced amongst youth with similar life situations and interests including crime, where perhaps little social pressure is required to engage in criminal activity. If one wishes to "do crime" one can always find a willing associate to come along. The obligatory pressure to entice a neophyte to engage in crime is not essential when those forming friendships are already deeply involved in criminal activity. Thus, the absence of peer pressure, and therefore, the lack of support for hypothesis 3 A, is grounded in the reality that the most criminal element in the sample needed little social pressure to undertake illegal activities. All of this suggests that, while these youths may enter friendship networks with similar life situations, as is argued by subcultural theorists, they do not necessarily become socialized to criminal behavior upon inclusion, or invert norms when groups are formed. Rather, it appears that the youth are already heavily involved in criminal activities and any inversion of conventional goals has likely taken place prior to entry.

We do not know the role peer pressure played in the initial criminal activities of the youth in this sample. Prior research utilizing the self-report methodology and conventional samples consistently points to peer influence as a strong predictor of delinquent activities (Gold, 1970; Hindelang, 1974; Jessor and Jessor, 1980; Johnson, 1979). This implies that the youth in our sample may have evolved through a maturity process moving from a condition where peer influence was a vital and perhaps necessary condition for delinquency to where they have become so immersed in crime that they need little prodding, only companions to assist in their behaviors. Over time the intense soliciting for action by others diminishes in importance as these youth become the prodders and perhaps eventually tire of the organizational efforts required to initiate crime and search out others who have similarly undergone this maturity process. From this we can conclude that those most likely to be subjected to, and influenced by, peer pressure are youths just becoming involved in crime. This would be similar to findings by Fagan et al. (1986) who discovered that delinquent peers were much more important factors in explaining crime among students and dropouts than among serious offenders.

Agnew (1991) notes that delinquent peer groups display substantial variation in terms of peer interaction. Focusing on those adolescents with the most delinquent friends he implies that a substantial percentage are weakly attached to their friends and there is much variation in the amount of time spent with such friends. Further, a substantial percentage of his sample reported little peer pressure to engage in delinquency. He reveals that serious peer delinquency is the best predictor of serious delinquency but a poor predictor of minor delinquency. Likewise minor delinquent friends is the best predictor of minor delinquency but is relatively impotent in explaining serious delinquency. He argues that such findings highlight the importance of distinguishing between types of delinquent peer groups.

It may be that the youth in our sample were never coaxed or coerced into these activities, but were always the opinion leaders in these more conventional groups, actively pressuring peers to participate in criminal behavior. Eventually, our youth move into different environments- life on the street- where they come into contact with others who were also opinion leaders in terms of criminal activities within their previous peer group, and who require little inducement to criminal participation.

It might also be the case that the structural conditions of the street youth eliminate the need for social pressure. Youths who have no resources for food or shelter, and who have, or develop, drug and alcohol habits are in circumstances that are so severe that peer pressure is irrelevant. Nevertheless, in all these scenarios, it appears that crime on the street takes place with others who are already similarly motivated by those same social and/or structural experiences. Future research should explore these various potential causal routes. It appears that the concentration of research on conventional samples may have stunted explanation. The serious offenders in this sample appear to differ extensively from their more conventional peers.

The property crime model revealed that criminally inclined peers were far more available to the younger respondents in the sample. They appear to access criminal friends both on the street and off. However, older respondents were able to locate and attach themselves to criminally inclined peers the longer they spent living on the street. Thus, it appears that as respondents age they begin to restrict their interactions to criminal peers who live or spend great amounts of time on the street; peers who are seriously criminally inclined.

Criminally disposed peers also play an important role in the respondents' involvement and absorption into the street lifestyle. Here respondents become entrapped in a cycle where crime is constantly undertaken to satisfy the hunger for drugs and alcohol. Peers, caught in a similar lifestyle, assist the respondents in gaining funds to purchase drugs and/or alcohol which in turn serves to increase participation in this lifestyle. The youths' abilities to finance substance habits are enhanced by other youths who also utilize illegal avenues to subsidize their abuses. When funds are needed to obtain more intoxicants, there are always others desiring and/or requiring these substances who are able to lend a "helping hand." Together, they assist each other in gaining the funds required to obtain their desired intoxicants, which in turn deepens patterns of use necessitating more crime to fulfill growing dependencies.

STREET INVOLVEMENT: CRIME FOR DRUGS AND CRIME UNDER DRUGS

The suspected existence of this street lifestyle led to the generation of research hypothesis 3 C. Here it was argued that street involvement contributes to criminal behavior by introducing a cycle where illegal sources are required to fund substance use, which in turn leads to increased abuse, introducing the need for even more criminal behavior to fund the growing addictions, eventually leading to the point where criminal behavior becomes part of a lifestyle. Those getting caught up in the lifestyle further estrange and isolate themselves from conventional society, decreasing their attachment to conventional others, commitment to conventional pursuits, and their beliefs that criminal behavior is wrong. In sum, we surmised that the greater the need to fund substance abuse, the greater the risk of criminal behavior.

This hypothesis was supported on a number of fronts. First, the descriptive analysis (see Chapter 6) pointed to an enormous amount of drug and alcohol abuse in the sample. Second, it revealed an abundance of criminal behavior undertaken by respondents to fund substance use. Lastly, the statistical models informed us that street involvement was one of the strongest predictors of property crime, illegal drug distribution and total crime.

What led youths to become immersed in this street lifestyle? The background factors point directly to the lack of instrumental control in the family. In both the drug distribution model (see Figure 3) and the total crime model (see Figure 4), respondents whose parents did not know where they were when they were out of the house were more likely to be introduced into the street lifestyle. Furthermore, as has already been discussed at some length, the property crime model illustrates that criminal peers also contribute to participation. The youths' peers, caught up in this similar lifestyle, join with the respondents in criminal activities for the purpose of obtaining funds for drugs and/or alcohol.

Long term homelessness also resulted in increased street involvement. The longer respondents had lived on the street, the greater their immersion into this crime/drugs/alcohol lifestyle. The combination of exposure, opportunity and availability draws respondents into this lifestyle.

Youths who make external attributions for their unemployment are also more likely to seek out or be drawn into this street environment. These criminally inclined youth enter an environment filled with others who have made external attributions for their unemployment and also hold these criminal inclinations.

The result of the involvement in this street lifestyle is an increasing segregation and disengagement from the more conventional society and the labour market. Drawing from control theory, we see youths immersed in this street "scene" as having been sharply separated from the very things that might influence their behavior in a more positive direction. Instead, their attachments and commitments become irrelevant and invisible and they advance their illegal behavior through the opportunities made available.

Part and parcel of this lifestyle is that the use of these substances facilitates criminal behavior by making it psychologically easier to complete. We argued that intoxication reduces fear and provides a confidence of invincibility that enables participants to carry out their crimes. For these reasons we conjectured in research hypothesis 3 D the respondents' drug and/or alcohol use might facilitate criminal activities.

This hypothesis was supported in only one model: violent crime. Here respondents who attacked people while under the influence of drugs and alcohol committed more violent offenses. It was not the extent of the alcohol or drug use, but rather that it was intoxication itself that led to violent altercations. We have already outlined how respondents have learned in the home that violence is more acceptable, or at least tolerated to a greater extent when it is unleashed while intoxicated. Further, the street is an environment where violence, crime, drugs and alcohol go hand in hand. The street lifestyle is endemic with drug and alcohol use and their abuse is linked to the criminal behavior required to sustain these habits. Further, the street provides violent models to the respondents to observe as well as rules of conflict that reinforce the principle that violence is more accepted and/or tolerated under certain physiological states. Both Zimberg (1984) and Fagan (1990) have illustrated that drinking norms require different behaviors from group members in different settings. Respondents access their experiences and the rules of the street to guide their behavior. In sum, intoxication does not lead directly to violent behavior. Rather it is sanctioned by street values that provide a quasi legitimation for violence while under the influence.

The absence of the crime while intoxicated variable in the other models is accounted for by its high collinearity with the street involvement measure (see Appendix A and Chapter 7). This collinearity implies that while a great deal of the respondents' criminal behavior was undertaken to secure resources for intoxicants, the respondents were commonly intoxicated while effecting property and drug offenses. This gives us the impression that not only do these offenses pose less difficulty for the respondents while they are intoxicated, but that the respondents' substance abuse problems are quite extreme.

HOMELESSNESS

The final hypothesis under our street factor research question dealt with the respondents' homelessness. It was thought that the longer one lived on the street, the greater the number of illegal opportunities available and the greater the odds of involvement in the street culture both of which increase the risk for criminal behavior. The data supported our hypothesis. It revealed that those most vulnerable to long term homelessness were older, experienced little instrumental and relational control when they lived at home, and had experienced serial physical abuse at the hands of their guardians. In turn, as the length of homelessness increased so did the respondents' criminal activities. This variable presented itself in the statistical models examining property crime, violent crime and total crime.

Homelessness and being on the street for long periods of time offered ample opportunity for offending. They provided attractive targets available for victimization by motivated offenders both in the property and violent realm. In addition, the street presented a marketplace for the distribution of illegal drugs and stolen goods. "Customers" flocked to the area in pursuit of the products of their desires. Thus, the sheer amount of time spent on the street increases the opportunities available for criminal pursuits. This upholds the major tenements of the routine activities approach.

The street also sustains certain rules that assist to control conduct on the street and serve to increase certain types of crime. The street is guided by rules of retributive justice where certain behaviors are deemed to be worthy of violent retaliation. The conduct, demeanour and manners regarded to be offensive lead to situations where violence erupts. Many of these behaviors would be overlooked in other environments but because they take place on the street they are reacted to negatively.

These rules may be the cultural creation of street people. Subcultural models assert that variations in violence stem from the adherence to subcultural normative systems that support and encourage violence. This culture promotes a relatively greater number of conditions under which violence is expected and required.(Curtis, 1975; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Gastil, 1971). Subcultural theories generally propose that some structural locations are characterized by high rates of violence because a significant proportion of the actors occupying these positions are favourably disposed to, and act in terms of, a culture that sanctions violence.

Alternatively, the sensitivity of respondents to slights may be the result of structural conditions that lead the youths to be overly sensitive to slights. The structural models of violent behavior maintain that crime stems from inequality, the uneven distribution of resources, and the deprivation of some relative to others. The perception of inequality and relative deprivation is thought to generate feelings of resentment and hostility which in turn stimulate impulses that are ultimately expressed as violent crime (Blau and Blau, 1982; Braithwaite, 1979; Danziger and Wheeler, 1975; Hawkins, 1983; Messner and Tardiff, 1986). Future research would do well to tap into the sources of these rules and the situational determinants that amplify the odds that violence will develop (Luckenbill and Doyle, 1989).

In addition to providing criminal opportunities and rules for conduct, the street offers a suitable stage to come into contact with other street youths to enlist as partners in crime (see Figure 1). Living on the street also increases the prospects of becoming entrenched in the street lifestyle augmenting drug and alcohol abuse. This, in turn, leads to criminal activities under the influence of these substances in order to acquire more intoxicants to feed growing addictions. All the while the youth becomes further confirmed to a lifestyle that supports criminal practices and delegitimizes conventional pursuits.

Long term homelessness also leads respondents to make external attributions for their unemployment. As the length of the respondents' homelessness grows, so does their tendency to blame the system for their unemployment (see Figures 1 and 4), which in turn magnifies their criminality and their absorption into the street lifestyle. Living on the street for long periods of time appears to provide respondents with some insight into the cause of their unemployment. Their experience with poverty reveals that it is not they who are to blame but the lack of legitimate employment opportunities.

In sum, homelessness and the various street factors examined are extremely criminogenic. The street factors provide four exceedingly productive routes to explaining criminal behavior within this group. Homelessness, criminal peers, street involvement and drugs and/or alcohol are heavily interconnected and help explain crime across types. Criminal peers amplify crime and street immersion; homelessness increases crime, street involvement, and access to criminal peers; the street lifestyle boosts drug and alcohol use and the necessity to fund this use through crime; and being under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol facilitates the performance of these illegal activities. The only street variable absent in the analysis is peer pressure. But as argued above, the respondents in the sample are not criminal neophytes. They have, in some cases, had extensive criminal pasts prior to hitting the street. There is little need to pressure them into criminal activities. Instead there is a need to find others like themselves who do not need prodding to undertake criminal behavior. And despite their criminal pasts, it is their current life situations that best help explain their criminal behavior.

Theoretically these components draw heavily from the routine activities and control approaches. The street increases opportunities and decreases attachments and commitments. The components also highlight the need to theoretically account for the role of street involvement and crime under the influence of drugs and alcohol. This study reveals that drug and alcohol use is more than just another type of delinquency. Instead it appears to be a causal factor in the development of criminal involvement and adds pressure towards a commitment to a drugs/alcohol/crime lifestyle.

Further, the data require an indepth reformulation of theory to describe more completely the process of peer pressure and peer availability and how these differ in more conventional versus serious young offender populations. While it appears that those on the street exhibit similar problems, share the same criminal outlook, become involved in a street lifestyle, and regularly access peers for criminal participation, peer influence is all but absent amongst serious offenders. Research should focus on the process offenders move through as they emerge from the more traditional populations to become serious offenders. Further, it should investigate whether the support for crime is brought with the offenders, is the creation of the street inhabitants, or is the result of many people in similar situations reacting in like fashion to these conditions. It may be a combination of all three factors reinforcing each other over time.

With our examination of research question three complete, the only missing components left to explore are the respondents' attributional and affective reactions to their unemployment.

ATTRIBUTIONAL AND EMOTIONAL FACTORS

INTERNAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Our final research question inquired into the street youths' interpretations of, and affective reactions to, their labour market problems and probed their influence in the generation of criminal behavior. Research hypothesis 4 A proposed that respondents who attributed their unemployment to internal sources would be less at risk for crime. By blaming themselves, they have individualized their failure and are therefore less likely to feel a sense of frustration due to their occupational deprivation. Frequency distributions displayed that the majority of respondents believed themselves to be deficient in skills that would enable them to secure employment. A smaller number indicated that they were to blame for their unemployment due to motivational problems, and around 42% of the respondents felt that their inadequate appearances and interview skills inhibited gaining employment. However, of these three internal attributions, only the interview/appearance adequacy variable made a significant contribution to any of our statistical models.

Respondents who attributed their unemployment to their poor appearance and lack of interview skills tended to engage in fewer property offenses and crimes overall, than their nonattributing peers. As already mentioned, it was the younger respondents and those from single parent households who tended to make this internal attribution. In addition to decreasing criminal activity, this internal attribution also tended to decrease street involvement. Those who engaged in self blame for their unemployment were less likely to become involved in a cycle of drugs, alcohol and crime. This self-recrimination also influenced the respondents' job search behavior. The internal attributors tended to search less for employment than their nonattributing peers. Believing that they will not obtain employment because of their inadequacies, they drop active searches for employment, a decision that leads to an increased risk for criminal behavior. However, considering the direct negative effect of their attribution on criminal behavior this risk is slight. Overall this supports the concerns of the critics (Box, 1987; Box and Hale, 1985; Hartnagel, 1990; Horowitz, 1978; Macleod, 1987; Pearlin et. al., 1981) and the ideas drawn from the attributional literature (Feather, 1990; Weiner et al., 1978; 1979): those who make internal attributions are less at risk for criminal behavior.

Yet only one of our three internal variables provided any significant explanation. A perusal of Appendix A revealed that there was a moderate degree of collinearity between the competence and the interview/appearance measures. Those who felt they lacked job skills also tended to believe their interview skills deficient and their appearances inadmissible. Similarly, there was a moderate degree of collinearity between the motivation and the interview/appearance measures. Again, those who attributed their unemployment to a lack of motivation also tended to feel they lacked sufficient interview skills and presentable appearances. Together, this suggests that these youth tend to perceive themselves as lacking in a number of different positive qualities. Their self perceived culpability disrupts their job searches, inhibits their street involvement and decreases their odds of participation in criminal activities. The interview/appearance, measure accounting for more of the nonshared variance the indicators explained, was the stronger of the three variables and therefore emerged as the significant contributor to the models.

EXTERNAL ATTRIBUTIONS

In research hypothesis 4 B we argued that youths who attributed the cause of their unemployment to external causes such as the economy or an unfair opportunity structure would be at greater risk for criminal behavior than their peers. It was thought that those who attributed their unemployment to external causes might engage in crime out of resistance or protest. The frequency distributions demonstrated that a large majority of the respondents believed that the economy was to blame for their joblessness. However, there was relatively little perception within the group that unemployment was the result of an unfair opportunity structure. Nevertheless, it was this understanding that the legitimate labour market was blocked rather than a recognition of a poor economy that increased the respondents' property offense and total offense numbers. This perception of blocked routes was perhaps viewed as more permanent and personal. In the qualitative data we discovered that many viewed the recession as something that impinged on many people, including others more worthy of employment. In contrast, blocked opportunities are perceived in a more limited framework. They impact on the individual more directly.

The variable that appears to affect this awareness is homelessness. In the property crime model (see Figure 1) the length of homelessness had an effect on the respondents' perceptions. In the property crime model there was an interaction effect between length of homelessness and our so called "strain" variable (see Table 7.4). There was little doubt that the longer the homelessness, the greater the sense of obstructed legitimate employment opportunities, which in turn increased respondents' criminal activities.

The sense of an unequal opportunity structure also increased respondents' absorption into the street lifestyle. Those youth who felt their employment opportunities were impeded tended to become immersed in a lifestyle centered around intoxicants and criminal behavior. They abandon the conventional society, detaching themselves from a labour market they view as stacked against them and become engaged in an environment that serves to further distance them from the labour market. In summary, the data support hypothesis 4 B. They also suggest that attribution, strain and control arguments can be linked to explain criminal behavior. The external attribution of blocked legitimate opportunities leads to criminal behavior; however, it also leaves the youth unbonded to conventional society and frees them for activities that serve to further isolate and detach them from the labour market and increase criminal activities.

The addition of an attributional framework to our research appears to have been a fruitful choice. The data reveal that depending on the locus of respondents' explanations for their unemployment we can better predict if they will become involved in criminal activities. Further, the discovery that the experience of longterm homelessness contributes to criminality by altering, or amplifying attributions, suggests a key intervening variable to be examined in any attempts to reduce criminality within this type of sample.

AFFECTIVE REACTIONS:GUILT, HELPLESSNESS, DEPRESSION

In research hypothesis 4 C we offered for consideration the idea that respondents who expressed negative affective reactions to their unemployment in the form of guilt, helplessness or depression were less likely to commit crime. In contrast, we expected that respondents who did not manifest these emotions, or did so to a lesser extent, were prime candidates for criminal behavior. We believed that youth who lacked commitment to, and belief in, the conventional system would be unbothered by their lack of employment. The absence of affective reaction indicates deficient bonding leading to a freedom to undertake criminal behavior.

The frequency distributions revealed modest levels of negative emotional reactions to unemployment. The emotion most generated was guilt. Around 40% of the respondents implied they felt guilty about being without work. Far fewer respondents informed us they experienced helplessness or depression over their joblessness. Nevertheless, both guilt and depression proved to be significant explanations of the criminal behavior of street youth. In the total crime model (see Figure 4) respondents who indicated little negative affect to their unemployment committed more offenses overall. This lack of guilt signals a detachment from the labour market. The respondents do not care for, or about employment. In fact, the qualitative data suggested that many of the respondents supplying this type of response had determined that illegal activities were superior in terms of financial rewards, control over labour power, and emotional satisfaction. In contrast, those who reacted with guilt to their employment situations remained bonded to the conventional society. Their guilt is a result of a comprehension of failure to meet societal requirements.

In contrast, respondents who expressed depression over their unemployment were at greater risk for property offenses (see Figure 1). This result was contrary to our hypothesis. However, the qualitative data provided evidence that helped explain this anomaly. Those who communicated depression articulated that this emotion stemmed from the shortage of basic resources, the lack of structure in their days, and the boredom unemployment brought to their lives. It seems that respondents regain a sense of agency in their lives through participation in criminal activities. As Agnew (1990) argues, these youths possess resources (strength, size, knowledge, friends, fighting abilities and assorted skills) that enable youth to increase their power and autonomy. This power and autonomy may be used to reduce social controls and increase "illegitimate means," which in turn increase the likelihood of delinquency. Whether actors use these resources for criminal ends is influenced by several factors including their predisposition for delinquency (presence of delinquent associates, delinquent values, low levels of social control, strain), the benefits and costs of employing their resources, and their judgments that they can carry out the performances.

Matza (1957) and Roshier (1990) support these ideas by arguing that the experience of seeing one's self as an effect often leads to delinquency. They describe criminal behaviors as positive self-expressive acts that are ideally suited to the task of asserting autonomy.

The property crime model illustrates that the youths are certainly predisposed for delinquency; they have criminal peers, experience strain, and low levels of relational control. Further, much of their behavior can also be viewed as benefitting their situations. First, it provides them with the resources necessary to ensure survival. Second, it provides a meaningful activity around which they can structure their daily routines; and third, it provides them with a source of excitement that counteracts boredom. Finally, their past experiences, and the experiences of their peers influence their determination that these behaviors are easily accomplished. Altogether, through criminal activity the youths regain some sense of control in their lives.

Helplessness did not make a significant impact in any of the statistical models. The majority of respondents argued that they were not helpless. They implied that employment was available if desired, or that illegal activities eliminated any exigency to feel helpless. On the whole the data suggest the need for a more finely developed framework so that the influence of individual emotions on criminal behavior might be better predicted. Considering the paucity of research utilizing these types of measures to predict crime, the failure to uncover unqualified support for hypothesis 4 C is not surprising. The borrowing of theory from other areas of research and applying them to the prediction of crime begs for a period of development. This research is the first stage and offers insight into the direction elaboration might proceed.

AFFECTIVE REACTIONS: ANGER

In research hypothesis 4 D we left for empirical determination the role anger played in the criminal behavior of street youth. Two routes leading in opposite directions were posed. On the one hand, it was thought that those who intimate anger over joblessness might utilize criminal behavior as an expression of their discontent. On the other, the absence of indignation over unemployment might signal a disengagement from the labour market, leaving these respondents at liberty to participate in illegal activities.

The statistical models did little to resolve our dilemma. Nevertheless, the correlation matrix (see Appendix A) informed us of the extreme collinearity that anger shared with the depression variable. Those respondents who were depressed over their unemployment also revealed themselves to be angry. The qualitative data made plain that the two emotions were generated for similar reasons: insufficient essentials, and the lack of structured activity. Anger also emerged from failed job searches and perceptions of injustice. Substituting anger for depression in the model estimations failed to uncover any statistically significant results.

Agnew (1985) suggests that individuals not only engage in goal seeking efforts but also attempt to avoid painful situations. Thus, the undertaking of delinquency to overcome an aversive state like depression can be viewed as an instrumental act. However, it may be the case that when respondents sense they are unable to escape or remove the source of their aversion that they strike out in rage at the source of their loathing. Agnew notes that the link between anger and striking out is more of an emotional, rather than instrumental, response to aversion. The fact that we have demonstrated that the respondents have resources and tend to exploit them to regain a sense of autonomy suggests that depression is more likely to be linked to instrumental property offenses. A more emotional, less instrumental, response like striking out in anger does not lend itself to completing property offenses.

It may be as respondents anger subsides and gives way to depression that they are stirred to criminal action in attempts remove the source of their aversion and recover their influence over their situations.

If we follow Agnew's argument that anger is often expressed through more violent actions, then the failure of the anger variable to appear in the violent crime model may be interpreted as somewhat of a surprise. However, throughout our analysis of the violent crime model we noted that much violent crime is instrumental, undertaken for rational reasons, and guided by various situational rules. These rules would appear to counteract the sheer reaction of anger. In fact, they would seem to guide and cue respondents as to when they should react with anger and how that anger should be channelled. Thus, the explanatory strength of anger becomes muted by the various rules that guide violence on the street.

The failure of the data to sustain hypothesis 4 D again points to the need to refine the role of emotions in the generation of crime and the difficulties of incorporating concepts from research not developed specifically for the task at hand. Further, it would appear that future research would do well to tap into the fluid nature of emotions, as people move between states, and how these various conditions impinge on criminality. Nevertheless, our seminal investigations provide a foundation from which to build and refine this theoretical addition.

Our results also demand a reevaluation of the relationship between attributions and emotions. Our path models failed to uncover any significant paths between these two types of variables as would have been expected from theoretical projections. Considering our calls for more precise specification of the relationships between crime and the various emotions and attributions, it seems reasonable to suggest a reconsideration of the connections between the various emotions and attributions. Thus, while the attributional work has provided us with vital concepts that have increased our understanding of crime amongst street youth, additional theoretical and empirical work is required to further elucidate their precise role in the causation of crime by street youth.

At this time we should also address the issue of rationalizations for behaviors. A potential weakness of this study is that we measured emotions and attributions at a particular time and then tried to use them as predictors of behavior that actually preceded the measurement of these interpretive variables. Critics will argue that the respondents answers may be justifications for criminal behavior after the fact. The emotions and attributions are thought to follow the criminal behavior so as to protect the individual. However, Sykes and Matza (1957) argue that attributions precede deviant behavior and make deviant behavior possible. In this manner the social environment is neutralized, turned back and deflected in advance. They suggest that these attributions (in particular) and emotions are critical in lessening the effectiveness of social controls. The fact that these emotions and attributions are significant explanatory variables for those offenders who commit an extremely high number of offenses, it would seem that they probably felt this way a year prior to the interview when many were likely already in the middle of their criminal runs. Nevertheless, future research adopting a longitudinal methodology would do well to utilize emotional and attributional variables in their surveys to further support, or possibly refute the results of the current research.

PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL WELL-BEING

The last hypothesis of research question four (4 E) argued that the perception of financial standing rather than objective financial worth leads to criminal behavior. Respondents who sense a greater degree of deprivation may experience more frustration and respond to their situation with criminal behavior. Further, actors may calculate that they have insufficient funds and determine that resources can be secured more profitably through illegal as opposed to conventional pursuits. These actors may make rational choices to pursue illegal activities.

Our statistical models bring to light that the perception of financial well being is a significant predictor of both violent and total crime. However, the relationship is in the direction opposite to that projected in the hypothesis. It is the respondents who discern that their finances are satisfactory that are the high rate offenders. The responses recorded in the qualitative data made this finding understandable. A theme that appeared in a number of the different areas examined within the dissertation revolved around the youths' abilities to secure large amounts of money through illegal behavior. Respondents regularly reported this to be a more attractive and rewarding method of gaining income than was the legal labour market.

In terms of the different types of offenses, the relationship between the perception of financial well-being and total crime suggests that the respondents make a rational choice to engage in criminal behavior. The respondents have examined their skills and education, their positions in the bottom tier of the labour market, the emotional satisfaction and the monetary rewards these would generate and have determined that the benefits of the illegal market are superior. Thus, crime becomes a rational choice for those successful in these activities. The rewards they cultivate are not imaginable in the legitimate labour market.

In terms of violent offenses there are two important explanations. First, robbery is an activity that enables respondents to accumulate finances in a quick, and relatively simple fashion. However, participation in other illegal activities necessitates the discriminate use of violence to protect these other interests. Highly successful property offenders and drug dealers face constant challenges concerning the quality of their products. That is, the more stolen property or drugs that are sold, the greater the likelihood that a customer will make claims against excellence of the product. The larger the offense totals, the greater the probability of provocative objection. These claims are assaults on the reputation of the respondent. This requires the successful criminal to harm the claimant to extract retribution for diminution of character and in the process reestablish reputation. Again, their behavior is a rational response. Thus, while support for hypothesis 4 E is unsubstantiated, the findings are reconcilable and suggest a reformation of the hypothesis to reflect the data. Our review of specific research questions and hypotheses complete, we move now to provide a total picture of the circumstances leading to criminal behavior by street youth.

SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT VARIABLES

This research has provided a number of interesting results that go beyond those provided in past research to further our understanding of street youth and their criminal behavior. Street youth are on the street, become immersed into a street lifestyle, and engage in criminal activities because their households were deficient in instrumental and relational control and abundant in coercive control. Thus, as would be predicted by control theory, youths with negative familial controls are permitted or forced out onto the street. The lack of instrumental and relational control also leaves the youths at liberty to become involved in criminal behavior and continue this behavior once on the street. The youths' prior delinquency contributes to the assimilation into activities on the street. Their early exposure to this environment allows them to incorporate the rules of the street to guide their interactions and behaviors.

Youth from lower class backgrounds are more likely to end up on the street. However, youth from higher class backgrounds become more successful as criminals because they assimilate attitudes reproduced in their homes that enable them, or push them, to become more proficient and prosperous in these activities. Thus, there are indications that support a revised version of strain theory (see Braithwaite, 1979) and some of the arguments offered in power control theory (Hagan, 1989). Therefore, although these youths experience a lack of control that guides them to delinquency, they also experience overcontrol in terms of physical abuse and demands of economic success that pushes them into criminal activities (Greenberg, 1977; Elliot et al., 1985; Hagan and McCarthy, 1992; Sullivan, 1989).

Youths from single parent homes are also more at risk due to the negative effects of the tensions and disorganization from the prior parental discord in their homes.

On the street younger offenders tend to engage in property offenses, moving to include violent offenses in their criminal repertoires as they determine that opportunities for the latter are numerous and provide a quick alternative source of funding. Much of the purpose behind this behavior surrounds the need to purchase drugs and alcohol. Those with the most severe substance abuse problems move to the distribution of illegal drugs regardless of their age. The availability of the substances and the profitability of their distribution make this a rational choice for those with substance abuse problems.

For those with negative familial controls, the street itself is extremely criminogenic. As would be expected from a routine activities approach, the street provides opportunities for all types of criminal behavior. It increases the likelihood that motivated offenders will intersect in time and space with attractive targets lacking guardianship, which serves to augment offensive behavior. The street also provides an access to criminal peers who help carry out criminal activities. This is particularly true for older respondents who through the development of contacts with criminal peers on the street are able to facilitate their criminal successes. On the other hand, younger street youth have a pool of criminal peers to draw from that moves beyond the boundaries of the street. Nevertheless, as time progresses their interactions become more restricted to others who predominantly spend their time on the street.

The street also provides the exposure to, and increases the availability of, and opportunity for becoming involved in a street lifestyle where crime, drugs and alcohol become central activities. Substance use becomes funded by criminal activities, leading to more abuse, necessitating still more illegal behavior to fund an ever growing drug and/or alcohol problem. Similarly involved criminal peers deepen participation in this approach to living by contributing companionship that swells criminal success, enabling heightened substance use and a growing dependence.

Living on the street also serves to detach street youths from conventional society. As expected from a strain perspective, those who live on the streets for long periods of time come to blame the social system for their predicament. They view their legitimate opportunities for employment blocked, leading to increased criminal behavior and advancement into the street lifestyle. As argued in control theory, once absorbed into this environment, contact and attachment to conventional society is further decreased, leaving the youths at even greater risk for involvement in criminal activities. The youths no longer search for employment when they are out of work. They come to see illegal behavior as a more profitable method of gaining funds. They determine that their education, job skills, and experience will secure only alienating, low wage employment and conclude that illegitimate activities far outweigh their legitimate counterparts in terms of pay and freedom. Further, they view the legitimate labour market as closed, even for the most minimal of employment. In light of these calculations, they make a rational choice based on their reality, a choice where the legal labour market cannot compete on even terms. In many cases, even if the respondents had better educations and skills, the labour market would still fail to measure up in terms of economic rewards compared to those available from crime on the street.

At the same time the respondents move between anger and depression over their circumstances. They exhibit negative emotional reactions over the lack of resources, and the absence of structured activity in their lives. They turn to criminal activities not only because they provide superior finances and fund their drug and alcohol habits, but also because crime provides structure to their day, excitement in their lives, and offers them a sense of agency that unemployment and poverty attempts to strip away. Saying this, unemployment and poverty does not provoke guilt in criminal street youths. They have again concluded in a rational manner that crime supports their habits and enable them to survive without the burdens of guilt that make unemployment an unpleasant experience for some. They have overcome any societally induced feelings of failure. They have found methods to survive outside of those advocated by conventional society and in doing so dissolved and destroyed any remaining attachments to that society.

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

This dissertation has attempted to go beyond previous research on unemployment, street youth and crime in a number of ways. First it has attempted to go beyond the protective walls of past approaches. It brings together various avenues explored by others (background factors, labour market factors, and street factors) together for the first time. Further, it is one of the few attempts to incorporate actors' subjective interpretations of their conditions into a design, thus addressing criticisms of past work. The inclusion of all these factors proved vital as certain aspects of each proved important in explaining these youths' activities. Street youths' criminal behavior is not the result of only one type of factor. Instead, it is the result of a complex mix of factors that are drawn from a number of different perspectives. Thus, the attributions, emotions, and street factors open up somewhat the "black box" described by McCarthy and Hagan (1992). We have made strides in determining what causes crime on the street. To fully account for crime on the street we must look at people's emotional and attributional reactions, their labour market perceptions, the drugs, the alcohol, the criminal opportunities, the culture of the street, the detachment from conventional society, and the lucrative choice of crime over convention. The black box was full and while we made a good start, it is doubtful that we were completely successful in emptying it.

The methodology adopted also provided insights not contained in past work. By exploiting both qualitative and quantitative data we were able to move between sources creating a more detailed understanding of the youth under study. The systematic collection of qualitative data from a large sample allowed for important themes to emerge and idiosyncrasies to be identified. These data were important in uncovering the youths' experiences, interpretations, and behaviors. They provided a richness that previous individual level quantitative, and certainly aggregate studies, could not. Further, the large sample provided a thoroughness that is rare amongst other qualitative work that often relies on a small number of key informants. These data provided both breadth and depth. And from these data we were able to uncover the process in which youths move from their homes to the street to becoming "serious" criminals with drug and alcohol problems.

The sample of this study is also something unique. McCarthy and Hagan (1992) describe the significance of the "missing population" in criminology: the youth of the street who have been ignored since the advent of the self-report methodology. It is of course these very youth who are most at risk for unemployment, crime and substance abuse. Our data suggests that we have been quite successful in tapping into serious offenders. Their inclusion back into criminological research is important if we are to understand these chronic serious offenders.

THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

THEORY

In Chapter 2 we reviewed the generous body of theoretical work developed to explain the unemployment-crime relationship. At several locations in the body of the dissertation we have drawn from these various theoretical perspectives to help explain our findings. Throughout our discussion we have also noted at a number of points that precise theoretical speculation and elaboration, in addition to further empirical work is needed to better explain the relationship between the unemployment of street youth and their crime. We now move to an attempt to explore the future direction theoretical development must move to fulfill the ambition of more adequately explaining crime amongst street youth.

Some have argued that our traditional explanations for crime are overly simple and, as such, are inadequate to model the actual processes leading to crime (Elliot, 1985; Messner et al., 1989; Thornberry, 1989). Conforming to established practices, criminologists have focused on the application of one or another theoretical perspective in an attempt to determine its ability to explain crime. On some occasions more than one theory is utilized as the researcher creates an arena of theoretical competition measuring the success of each theory and declaring one a victor over the other based on results that are seldom definitive.

The presumption that the acceptance of one theory implies the rejection of the other is wrought with problems. First, researchers have overlooked the fact that both theories might have merit in accounting for independent portions of the variation in crime. Second, because of this oversight, there is a refusal to incorporate supported findings from other "schools" into the slightly superior work (Elliot, 1985). Researchers stubbornly defend their own theoretical "turf," creating a rivalry that ultimately inhibits theoretical progress and elementally stunts explanation of the events being examined. Thus, what has developed in criminology is a series of theories that partially explain criminal behavior, but not to the extent that the conduct is adequately accounted for (Elliot, 1985; Messner et al., 1989; Thornberry, 1989).

Our data reveal that different theoretical perspectives apply to different areas of models. For example, control theory appears promising is explaining how youths become initially involved in crime and end up on the streets. It also assists our understanding of how youth become detached from the labour market and conventional society, leaving them free to engage in criminal activities. The routine activities approach helps us make sense of the criminogenic environment of the street and its provision of opportunities and exposure to targets and lifestyles. Strain theory aids our account of the perception of blocked opportunities leading to criminal behavior and the role of familial socialization to success goals. Rational choice theory assists explanation in recognizing the selection of criminal behavior over legal behavior and attempts to regain a sense of control over lives. And finally, the attributional literature improves our understanding of how certain attributions and emotions increase criminal behavior.

Our theoretical explanations were influenced by the data. By refusing to restrict ourselves theoretically, and by actively exploring and assimilating theory outside of criminology we attempted to explain the phenomenon under study to the best of our ability with the tools available. What all of this suggests is the need for a more comprehensively elaborated or integrated theory explaining the criminal behavior of street youth. Rather than concerning ourselves with theoretical competition, we should explore various methods and possibilities of combining theories.

At the heart of what we argue for is an assumption that the causes of crime and delinquency are multiple. The causal processes leading to criminal behavior can be viewed as more varied and complex than posed by traditional explanations. We claim that there are multiple variables involved in the etiology of the same type of behavior and that there may be more than one set of causal conditions or paths sufficient for explaining involvement in a given behavior. It is important for researchers to offer a better explanation or understanding of the processes that cause delinquency than do the earlier models (Messner, et al., 1989; Thornberry, 1989). The demonstration of causal sequences or conditional relationships is extremely important because it is the intervening variables in the explanatory model that are most frequently the targeted objectives for change in treatment and prevention programs (Elliot, 1985). If sociological explanations of crime and delinquency are to have any significant impact upon future planning and policy, they must be able to demonstrate greater explanatory and predictive power (Elliot, 1985; Messner et al. 1989).

It can also be argued these elaborated and/or integrated models can play an important role in the development of criminological thought, precisely because they point to the commonalities in theories and break down petty differences that impede rather than advance understanding (Messner et al., 1989; Thornberry, 1989). This is a major advantage of theoretical elaboration and integration and one of its great contributions to theory construction. Thus, empirical observations and propositions contained in other theoretical models which have received empirical support are a rich source of information for theoretical elaboration. There should be no logical objection to borrowing from other work provided this borrowed material can be logically incorporated. Where this presents a problem we must meet the challenge to revise assumptions, propositions, and structure in an effort to improve our understanding and explanation of delinquency.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Theoretical elaboration or integration must go hand in hand with future empirical work that explores issues and components that have received insufficient attention. Our work has uncovered a number of these potentially fertile areas for investigation. First, prospective work should focus on the role of workplace reproduction within the home in the formation of perceptions and the generation of delinquency (Colvin and Pauly, 1983; Hagan 1989). Our work suggests that this area of the family is, at this point, insufficiently understood. Subsequent work should also allow for a thorough analysis of parental strife and its effect on childrens' behaviors (Sterne, 1964; Wallerstein et al., 1980; Trojanowicz and Morash, 1987). Our work has focused on the relationship between parents and children, neglecting the quality of parental associations and the potential vital information they hold.

Subsequent research should also increase our understanding of the development of the serious offender and the environments they inhabit. Rather than focusing our resources and attention on the more conventional samples who commit few serious offenses and appear to be drastically different from their street peers, more attention should be paid to those who actually commit the majority of the offenses. One step is to examine different types of delinquent groups and compare and contrast the "substantial variations" between serious and minor offenders (Agnew, 1991).

Another step in this direction would be to explore the evolution of the serious offender from neophyte shoplifter to hardcore break and enter artist, robber, or drug dealer. In doing so, consideration should be paid to the role of peers in this development. Do serious offenders require early prodding or are they the initial prodders? Longitudinal research currently underway may provide important insights into this domain (Elliot et al., 1991; Thorberry et al., 1991)

Research efforts must also be concentrated on the street lifestyle. As mentioned, it appears that drugs and alcohol go beyond simply being other delinquent behaviors. They seem to produce criminality and secure involvement in a lifestyle that envelops the youth. Drug use, alcohol use, and crime appear to be requirements for successfully participating in this lifestyle, and hence for reaping its satisfactions and rewards. Crime becomes more than a means for getting drugs; it appears instead to be part of an intensely interactive drug/crime relationship. Past research indicates that drug use may be a critical factor in the move from trivial to serious delinquency, increasing the chances that those youth completing the transition will stay involved in crime. While research on serious adult/crime offenders shows that a great variety of different kinds of drug/crime relationships operate, the most general and the most important of these relationships is that both drug use and crime are "definitional characteristics" of a preferred lifestyle (Austin and Lettierri, 1976; Gandossy et al.,1980; Inciardi, 1992; Inciardi, 1993; McBride and McCoy, 1982; Weissman, 1978). This suggests that one of the most important factors keeping these youth on the street is streetlife -- drug and alcohol use, fast cash, peers with like interests, the excitement of crime, and the other activities of the street. Better understanding of this situation requires both theoretical and research attention.

Further research might also focus on the genesis of the rules that appear to govern behavior on the street. Are these simply a result of a number of people under similar circumstances reacting to similar stimuli in a like manner (Blau and Blau, 1982; Braithwaite, 1979; Danziger and Wheeler, 1975; Hawkins, 1983; Liebow, 1967; Messner and Tardiff, 1986; Suttles, 1968; Valentine, 1968), or have these street inhabitants created a culture that demands these behaviors (Anderson, 1978; Curtis, 1975; Gastil, 1971; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967). Later research should also explore the situational dimensions involved in these structural and/or cultural demands (Luckenbill and Doyle, 1989).

Our endeavors to assimilate the work of attribution theorists has paid sufficient dividends for us to suggest more empirical work focusing on the effects of attributions and emotions. Our results imply that a potentially productive route of exploration might focus on how people move between emotions, how these are connected and how they ultimately affect criminal behavior. Investigators might also devote themselves to moving beyond the locus dichotomy (internal/external) into other attributional dimensions including stability (stable/unstable), and controllability (controllable/uncontrollable) (Brown, 1986; Feather, 1990; Weiner, 1986).

The stability dimension introduces the concept of causation over time and suggests that this can be either stable or unstable. An unemployed person may perceive the cause of his unemployment as either likely to change, or unlikely to change. For example, a person who attributes his unemployment to his lack of skills (an internal attribution), and believes that he cannot increase his skills, is making a stable attribution. On the other hand, if the person believes he can increase his skills the cause is unstable. Similarly, if the unemployed person attributes his unemployment to an insufficient number of jobs (an external attribution) and cannot imagine a better economy, the attribution is stable. However, if the unemployed person foresees the economy as getting better the cause is unstable.

The third dimension explores the person's perception of the controllability of the situation. For example, a person may attribute the cause of their unemployment to their lack of effort (an internal attribution) and know they could try harder. Thus, they have some control over the situation. However, they may attribute it to a lack of ability (an internal attribution), something they may perceive that they are unable to control. Similarly they may attribute it to a bad economy (an external attribution) and view it as beyond the control of anyone. Alternatively, they may see the bad economy as a result of government inaction and thus something that is controllable.

Future work would also do well to determine the possible fruitful connection between attributions and emotions, in addition to the direct effects they might have in the generation of illegal activities. In sum, we might utilize this approach to explain how people interpret their unemployment, how their interpretations influence their affective states and expectations and how these affective states and expectations influence criminality (Brown, 1990; Feather, 1990; Weiner, 1986).

The future presents an opportunity for research and theory to feed off of one another in an attempt to better understand and explain delinquency. Our future research suggestions offer routes for theoretical elaboration and finetuning, while this elaboration, integration and adjustment process will surely confer a number of subsequent empirical questions for investigation.

REFERENCES

Abrahamsen, D. 1960 The Psychology of Crime. New York: Columbia University Press.

Agnew, R. 1990 "Adolescent Resources and Delinquency." Criminology 28: 535-565.

Agnew, R. 1991 "The Interactive Effect of Peer Variables on Delinquency." Criminology 29: 47-72.

Allan, E.A. and D.J. Steffensmeier 1989 "Youth Underemployment, and Property Crime: Differential Effects of Job Availability and Job Quality on Juvenile and Young Adult Arrest Rates.

Anderson, E. 1978 A Place on the Corner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Austin, G.A. and D.J. Lettieri, eds. 1976 Drugs and Crime. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Drug Abuse.

Bachman, J.G., P.M. O'Malley and J. Johnston 1978 Youth in Transition, Vol. 6 Adolscence to Adulthood. Ann Arbour: Institute of Social Research.

Bernard, Thomas J. 1990 "Angry Aggression Among the Truly Disadvantaged." Criminology 28: 73-95.

Binder, A.M. 1959 "Considerations of the place of Assumptions in Correctional Analysis." American Psychologist 14:504-510.

Blau, J.R. and P.M. Blau. 1982 "The Costs of Inequality: Metropolitan Structure and Violent Crime." American Sociological Review 47:114-129.

Bonger, W. 1916 Criminality and Economic Conditions. Boston: Little Brown.

Boneau, C.A. 1960 "The Effects of Violations of Asumptions Underlying the T-Test." Psychological Bulletin 57:49-64.

Box, S. 1987 Recession, Crime and Punishment. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Box, S. and C. Hale 1985 "Unemployment, Imprisonment and Prison Overcrowding." Contemporary Crises 9:209-228.

Braithwaite, J. 1979 Inequality, Crime and Public Policy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Brennan, T. 1980 "Mapping the Diversity among Runaways." Journal of Family Issues 1:189-209.

Brennan, T., D. Huizinga and D.S. Elliot 1978 The Social Psychology of Runaways. Toronto: Lexington Books.

Brown, R. Social Psychology 2nd ed. New York: Free Press.

Burman, P. 1988 Killing Time, Losing Ground. Toronto: Wall & Thompson.

Cantor, D. and K.C. Land 1985 "Unemployment and Crime Rates in the Post-World War II United States." American Sociological Review 50:317-332.

Caputo, T. and C. Ryan. 1991 The Police Response to Youth at Risk. Ottawa: Solicitor General.

Carmines, E.G. and R.A. Zeller 1979 Reliability and Validity Assessment. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Cernkovich, Stephen A., Peggiy C. Giordano, and Merdith C. Pugh. 1985 "Chronic Offenders: The Missing Cases in Self-Report Delinquency Research." Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 76:705-32.

Chambliss, W. 1975 "On the Paucity of Original Research on Organized Crime: A Footnote to Galliher and Cain." The American Sociologist 10:36-39.

Chiricos, T.G. 1987 "Rates of Crime and Unemployment." Social Problems 34:187-212.

Clogg, Clifford C., Teresa A. Sullivan, and Jan E. Mutchler 1986 "Measuring unemployment in the Workforce." Social Indicators Research 18:375-393.

Cloward, R and L Ohlin. 1960 Delinquency and Opportunity. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Cochran, W.G. 1947 "Some Consequences when the Assumptions for the Analysis of Variance are not Satisfied." Biometrics 3:22-38.

Cohen, A. 1955 Delinquent Boys. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Cohen, J. and P. Cohen 1983 Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences 2nd. Ed. Hillsdale N.J.: Lawerence Erlbaum Ass. Pub.

Cohen, L., and M. Felson, 1979 "Social Change and Crime Rate Trends." American Sociological Review 44:588-607.

Colvin, M. and J. Pauly 1983 "A Critique of Criminology: Toward an Integrated Structural-Marxist Theory of Delinquency Production." American Journal of Sociology 86:90-118.

Crowley, J.E. 1984 "Delinquency and Employment." pp 239-295 in M.E. Borus (ed.), Youth and Labour Market. Kalamazoo: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

Crutchfield, R.D. 1989 "Labour Market Stratification and Violent Crimes." Social Forces 68:489-512.

Currie, E. 1985 Confronting Crime. New York: Pantheon.

Curtis, L.A. 1975 Violence, Race, and Culture. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath.

Danziger, S. and D. Wheeler. 1975 "The Economics of Crime: Punishment or Income Redistribution." Review of Social Economy 33:113-131.

DeFronzo, J. 1983 "Economic Assistance to Impoverished Americans." Criminology 21:119-136.

Duster, T. 1987 "Crime, Youth Unemployment, and the Black Urban Underclass." Crime and Delinquency 33:300-316.

Edmonton Journal, November 2, 1993.

Edwards, Richard C. 1979 Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century. New York: Basic Books.

Ehrlich, I. 1975 The Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment: A Question of Life and Death." American Economic Review 65: 397-417.

Elliot, Delbert S., 1985 "The Assumption that Theories Can be Combined with Increased Explanatory Power: Theoretical Integrations." in R.F. Meirer (ed) Theoretical Methods in Criminology, Beverly Hills: Sage.

Elliot, Delbert S., David Huizinga and Suzanne Ageton. 1985 Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Elliot, Delbert S., David Huizinga, and Scott Menard. 1989. Multiple Problem Youth: Delinquency, Substance Abuse, and Mental Health Problems. New York: Springer Verlag.

Fagan, Jeffrey. 1990 "Intoxication and Aggression." In M. Tonry and J.Q. Wilson, eds. Drugs and Crime, Crime and Justice: A Review of Research Vol. 13:241-320. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fagan, Jeffrey, Elizabeth S. Piper and Yu-Teh Cheng 1987 "Contributions of Victimization to Delinquency in Inner Cities." Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 78(3): 586-609.

Farrington, D., B. Gallagher, L. Morely, R.J. St.Ledger and D.J. West 1986 "Unemployment, School Leaving, and Crime." British Journal of Criminology 26:335-356.

Farrington, D., L.E. Ohlin and J.Q. Wilson 1986 Understanding and Controlling Crime: Toward a New Research Strategy. New York: Springer Verlag.

Feather, N.T. 1990 The Psychological Impact of Unemployment. New-York:Springer-Verlag.

Felson, M., and L.E. Cohen 1980 "Human Ecology and Crime: A Routine Activities Approach." Human Ecology 4:389-406.

Ferri, E. 1881 New Horizons of Criminal Law and Penal Procedure. Turin.

Fleisher, B.M. 1966 The Economics of Delinquency. Chicago: Quadrangle.

Fox, James A. 1978 Forecasting Crime Data. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Freeman, R.B. 1983 "Crime and Unemployment." in J.Q. Wilson (ed.) Crime and Public Policy. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies.

Furnham, A. 1985 "Youth Unemployment." Journal of Adolscence 8: 109-124.

Gandossy, R.P., J.R. Williams, J. Cohen and H.J. Harwood, 1980 Drugs and Crime: A Survey and Analysis of the Literature. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice.

Garafolo, James 1987 "Reassessing the Lifestyle Model of Criminal Victimization." in Michael R. Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi (eds.) Positive Criminology. Newbury Park, Calif.:Sage.

Garbarino, J. 1989 "The Incidence and Prevelance of Child Maltreatment." in L. Ohlin and M. Tonry Family Violence. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Garret, H.E. 1961 Statistics in Psychology and Education Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co.

Gastil, R.D. 1971 "Homicide and a Regional Culture of Violence." American Sociological Review 36:412-427.

Gillespie, R.W. 1978 "Economic Factors in Crime and Delinquency: A Critical Review of the Empirical Evidence." pp.601-626 in Unemployment and Crime: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary. House of Representatives. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Glaser, D. and K. Rice 1959 "Crime and Age, and Unemployment." American Sociological Review 24:679-686.

Gold, M. 1970 Delinquent Behavior in an American City. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Gold, M. and D. Reimer 1974 Testimony presented on the "Runaway Youth Act" to the Subcommittee On Equal Opportunity of the United States House Committee on Education and Labour pp.274-280. Washington D.C.:House of Representatives.

Goldmeirer, J., and R. Dean 1972 "The Runaway:Person, Problem or Situation." paper in the United States Senate Hearings on Runaway Youth before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary, 92nd Congress, 1st session pp.233-38. Washington,D.C.: House of Represetntatives.

Goldstein, P.J. 1985 "The Drugs/Violence Nexus: A Tripartite Conceptual Framework." Journal of Drug Issues 15:493-506.

Gordon, David, M., Richard Edwards and Michael Reich 1982 Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labour in the United States. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Greenberg, D. 1977 "Delinquency and the Age Structure of Society." Contemporary Crises 1:189-223.

Gullotta, T.P. 1979 "Leaving Home: Family Relationships of the Runaway Child." Social Casework :111-114.

Hagan, John. 1984 Disreputable Pleasures 2nd.ed. Toronto: McGraw- Hill.

Hagan, J. 1989 Structural Criminology. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Hagan, J. 1991 The Disreputable Pleasures 3rd ed.Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson.

Hagan, J. and B. McCarthy 1992. "Streetlife and Delinquency." British Journal of Sociology 42:533-561.

Hartnagel, T.F. 1990 "Under/Unemployment and Crime Among Youth: A Longitudinal Study of Recent High School Graduates." Discussion Paper 23 University of Alberta, Centre for Criminological Research.

Hartnagel, T.F. and H. Krahn 1989 "High School Dropouts, Labour Market Success, and Criminal Behavior." Youth and Society 20:416-444.

Havilcek, L.L. and N.L. Peterson 1977 Effect of the Violation of Assumptions Upon Significance Levels of the Pearson r." Psychological Bulletin 84:373-377.

Hawkins, D.F. 1983 "Black and White Homicide Differentials: Alternatives to an Inadequate Theory." Criminal Justice and Behavior 10:407-440.

Hendry, L.B. 1987 "Young People: From School to Unemployment?" pp 195-218 in S. Fineman (ed.), Unemployment. London: Tavistock.

Hewlett, S. A. 1986 A Lesser Life. New York: William Morrow.

Hindelang, M.J. 1974 "Moral Evaluations of Illegal Behaviors." Social Problems 21:370-85.

Hindelang, M.J., M.R. Gottfredson, and J. Garofalo 1978 Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation for a Theory of Personal Victimization. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger.

Hindelang, Micheal J., Travis Hirschi, and Joespeh G. Weiss. 1981. Measuring Delinquency. Beverly Hills CA: Sage.

Hirschi, T. Causes of Delinquency. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hocker. J.L. and W.W. Wilmot. 1985 Interpersonal Conflict. 2nd ed. Dubuque, IA: Brown.

Horwitz, A.V. 1984 "The Economy and Social Pathology." Annual Review of Sociology 12:109-158.

Horowitz, R. 1983 Honor and the American Dream. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Huizinga, David, and Delbert S. Elliot. 1986. "Reassessing the Reliability and Validity of Self-Report Delinquency Measures." Journal of Quantitative Criminology 2:293-327.

Huizinga, David, Finn-Aage Esbensen, and Anne Wylie Wieher. 1991 "Are There Multiple Paths to Delinquency?" Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology." 82:83-118.

Inciardi, James A. 1992 The War on Drugs 2: The Continuing Epic of Heroin, Cocaine, Crack, Crime, AIDS, and Public Policy. Mountain View, CA:Mayfield.

Inciardi, James A., Ruth Horowitz and Anne E. Pottieger. 1993. Street Kids, Street Drugs, Street Crime. Belmont Calif: Wadsworth Pub. Co.

Inciardi, James A., B.R. Russe. 1977 "Professional Thieves and Drugs." International Journal of Addictions 12:1087-95.

Jahiel, R.I. 1989 "The Situation of Homelessness." pp 99-118 in R.D. Bingham, R.E. Green, and S.B. White (eds.), The Homeless in Contemporary Society. Beverly Hills Calif.: Sage.

Jansyn, L. R. 1966 "Solidarity and Delinquency in a Street Corner Group." American Sociological Review 29: 653-668.

Janus, M.D., A. McCormack, A.W. Burgess and C. Hartman 1987 Adolscent Runaways. Toronto: Lexington Books.

Janvier, R.L., D.R. Guthmann, and R.F. Catalano. 1980 Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers: An Assessment of Evaluations of Drug Abuse Prevention Programs. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Jensen, Gary F. and David Brownfield 1986 "Gender, Lifestyles, and Victimization: Beyond Routine Activity." Violence and Victims 1(2): 85-99.

Jessor, R. and S.L. Jessor 1980 "A Social Psychological Framework for Studying Drug Use." in D.J. Lettieri, M. Sayers and H.W. Pearson Theories on Drug Abuse. Rockville, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse.

Johnson, Bruce D., Paul J. Goldstein, Edward Preble, James Schmeidler, Douglas S. Lipton, Barry Spunt, and Thomas Miller. 1985. Taking Care of Business: The Economics of Crime by Heroin Abusers. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Johnson, Richard E. 1979. Juvenile Delinquency and its Origins: An Integrated Theoretical Approach. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kennedy, Leslie W. and David R. Forde 1990a "Routine Activities and Crime: An Analysis of Victimization in Canada." Criminology 28(1): 137-152.

__________________________________ 1990b "Risky Lifestyles and Dangerous Results: Routine Activities and Exposure to Crime." Sociology and Social Research 74 (4): 208-211.

King, A.J.C., R.P. Beazley, W.K. Warren, C.A. Hankins, A.S. Robertson, and J.C. Radford 1989 Canadian Youth and AIDS. Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.

Klein, M. and L.D. Crawford. 1967 "Groups, Gangs, and Cohesiveness." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 4: 63-75.

Kornhauser, R. 1978 Social Sources of Delinquency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krahn, H.J., and G.S. Lowe 1993 Work, Industry and Canadian Society Scarbourough: Nelson.

Kufeldt, K., and M. Nimmo 1987 "Kids on the Street They Have Something to Say: Survey of Runaway and Homeless Youth." Journal of Child Care 3: 53-61.

_______________________ 1987b "Youth on the Street: Abuse and Neglect in the Eighties." Child Abuse and Neglect 11:531-543.

Lauritsen, Janet L., Robert J. Sampson and John Laub 1991 "The Link Between Offending and Victimization Among Adolescents." Criminology 29(2): 265-291.

Levine, S.V. 1979 "The Psychological and Social Effects of Youth Unemployment." Children Today 40:6-10.

Liebow, E. 1967 Tally's Corner. Boston:Little, Brown.

Loeber, Rolf, Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, Welmoet Van Kammen and David P. Farrington. 1991 "Initiation, Escalation and Desistance in Juvenile Offending and Their Correlates." Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 82:36-82.

Long, S.K. and A.D. Witte 1981 "Current Economic Trends." pp 69-143 in K.N. Wright (ed.) Crime and Criminal Justice in a Declining Economy. Cambridge, MA.: Oelgeschlager, Gunn and Hain.

Lowe, G.S. 1986 "Job Line for Youth." Policy Options 7:3-6.

Luckenbill, D.F. and D.P. Doyle 1989 "Structural Position and Violence: Developing a Cultural Explanation." Criminology 27 (3):419-435.

MacLeod, J. 1987 Ain't No Makin It. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Matza, D. 1964 Delinqueny and Drift. New York:Wiley.

McBride, D.C. and C.B. McCoy 1982 "Crime and Drugs: The Issues and Literature." Journal of Drug Issues 12:137-152.

McCarthy, B. and J. Hagan 1991 "Homelessness: A Criminogenic Situation?" British Journal of Criminology 31:393-410.

__________________________ 1992. Mean Streets: The Theoretical Significance of Destitution and Desperation among Homeless Youth." American Journal of Sociology 98:597-627.

McCord, W., J. McCord and I. Zola. 1959 Origins of Crime, New York: Columbia University Press.

McRae, S. 1987 Young and Jobless. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Merton, R. 1957 Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe.

Messner, S.F. M.D. Krohn and A. Liska eds. 1989 Theoretical Integration in the Study of Deviance and Crime: Problems and Prospects. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.

Messner, S.F. and K. Tardiff. 1986 "Economic Inequality and Levels of Homicide: An Analysis of Urban Neighbourhoods." Criminology 24: 297-317.

Moscovici, S. and M. Hewstone 1983 "Social Representations and Social Explanations: From the 'Naive' to the 'Amatuer' Scientist." in M. Hewstone (ed) Attribution Theory, Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell Pub.

Myles, J., G. Picot and T. Wannell 1988 "The Changing Wage Distribution of Jobs, 1981-86." The Labour Force, Statisics Canada, October:85-138.

Neice, D. 1987 "Priorities for Policy Research and Action in Canada." in Canadian Council for Social Development, Youth Policy, Action, Theory, Research. Ottawa: Canadian Council for Social Development.

Nye, F.I. 1980 "A Theoretical Perspective on Running Away." Journal of Family Issues 1:274-299.

Odell, B.N. 1974 "Accelerating Entry into the Opportunity Structure: A Sociologically Based Treatment for Delinquent Youth." Sociology and Social Research 58:312-317.

Orsagh, T. 1980 "Unemployment and Crime: An Objection to Professor Brenner's View." Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 71: 181-83.

Orsagh, T. and A.D. Witte 1981 "Economic Status and Crime." Journal Criminal Law and Criminology 72:1055-1071.

Palenski, J.E. 1984 Kids Who Run Away. Saratoga Calif.: R & E Publishers.

Patterson, G.R. 1982 Coercive Family Process. Eugene Oregon: Castalia Pub. Co.

Pearlin, L.I., M.A. Lieberman, E.G. Menaghan and J.T. Mullan 1981 "The Stress Process." Journal of Health and Social Behavior 22:337-356.

Phillips, L., H. Votey and D. Maxwell 1972 "Crime, Youth and the Labour Market." Journal of Political Economy 80:491-504.

Pineo, P.C., J. Porter, H.A. McRoberts 1977 "The 1971 Census and the Socioeconomic Classification of Occupations." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 14:91-102.

Pineo, P.C. 1984 Revisions of the Pineo-Porter-McRoberts Socioeconomic Classification of Occupations for the 1981 Census. QSEP Reseach Report no.125.

Polk, Kenneth 1984 "The New Marginal Youth." Crime and Delinquency 30:462-480.

Radford, J.L., A.J.C. King, and W.K. Warren 1989 Street Youth and AIDS. Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.

Redpath Lindsay 1991 The Causes and Consequences of Education-Job Mismatch. A Study of Underemployment Among Canadian University Graduates 1985-1987. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta.

Reiss, A.J. 1988 "Co-Offending and Criminal Careers." in Crime and Justice, Vol. 10, edited by M. Tonry and N. Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Reiss, A.J. and D.P. Farrington. 1991 "Advancing Knowledge About Co-Offending: Resuls From a Prospective Longitudinal Survey of London Males." The Jounral of Criminal Law and Criminology 82:360-395.

Rodgers, R.G. 1988 "An Overview of Issues and Concerns Related to the Sexual Abuse of Children in Canada." Discussion paper prepared for the Ministry of National Health and Welfare on Child Sexual Abuse.

Rodman, H. and P. Grams. 1967 "Juvenile Delinquency and the Family: A Review and Discussion." Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Roshier R. 1989 Controlling Crime: The Classical Perspective in Criminology. Chicago: Lyceum Books.

Rothman, J. 1991 Runaway and Homeless Youth. New York: Longman.

Rossi, P.H. 1989 Down and Out in America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

__________ 1989 Without Shelter. New York: Priority Press Pub.

Sampson, R.J. and J.H. Laub 1990 "Crime and Deviance over the Life Course: The Salience of Adult Social Bonds."American Sociological Review 55:609-627.

Sampson, Robert J. and Janet L. Lauritsen 1990 "Deviant Lifestyles, Proximity to Crime, and the Offender-Victim Link in Personal Violence." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 27(2): 110-139.

Sampson, Robert J. and John Wooldredge 1987 "Linking the Micro- and Macro-Level Dimensions of Lifestyles Routine Activity and Opportunity Models of Predatory Victimization." Journal of Quantitative Criminology 3: 371-393.

Samuelson, L. 1988 The Out of School Experiences of Dropouts: Labour Market Success and Criminal Behavior. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Alberta.

Sellin, T. 1937 Research Memorandum on Crime in the Depression. New York: Social Science Research Council.

Shavit, Y. and A. Rattner 1988 "Age, Crime and the Early Life Course." American Journal of Sociology 93:1457-1470.

Shaw, C.R. 1930 The Jackroller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Short, James F. Jr. and Fred L. Strodtbeck. 1965 Group Process and Gang Delinquency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sidel, R. 1986 Women and Children. New York: Viking Penguin.

Singer, S. 1981 "Homogeneous Victim-Offender Populations: A Review of Some Research Implications." Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 72: 779-788.

_________ 1986 "Victims of Serious Violence and Their Criminal Behavior: Subcultural Theory and Beyond." Victims and Violence 1(1): 61-69.

Smart, R.G., E.M. Adlaf, K.M. Porterfield, and M.D. Canale 1990 Drugs, Youth and the Street. Toronto: Addictions Research Foundation.

Snow, D.A., S.G. Baker and L. Anderson 1989 "Criminality and Homeless Men: An Empirical Assessment." Social Problems 36:532-549.

Solicitor General Canada. 1984 "Reported and Unreported Crimes." Canadian Urban Victimization Survey. Ottowa: Solicitor General Canada

Sparks, R. 1982 Research on Victims of Crime. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Statistics Canada 1988 Labour Force Annual Survey Cat.No. 71-529.

Statistics Canada 1989 The Labour Force Cat.No. 71-001.

Statistics Canada 1993 Labour Force Annual Survey Cat.No. 71-220.

Statistics Canada 1992 The Labour Force Cat.No. 71-001 July.

Statistics Canada 1993 Perspectives on Labour Market and Income Cat. No. 75-001E.

Sterne, R.S. 1964 Delinquent Conduct and Broken Homes. New Haven Conn.:College and University Press.

Sullivan, M.L. 1989 Getting Paid. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Sullivan, Teresa A. 1978 Marginal Workers, Marginal Jobs: The Underutilization of American Workers. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Suttles, Gerald. 1968 Social Order of the Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sykes, G.M. and D. Matza 1957 "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency." The American Journal of Sociology 22: 664-670.

Tarling, R. 1982 "Unemployment and Crime." Home Office Research 14:28-33.

Thomas, D.S. 1925 Social Aspects of the Business Cycle. New York: E.D. Dutton.

Thornberry, T.P. 1989 "Reflections on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Theoretical Integration. " in S.F. Messner, M.D. Krohn and A. Liska (eds.) Theoretical Integration in the Study of Deviance and Crime: Problems and Prospects. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.

Thornberry, T.P. and R.L. Christenson 1984 "Unemployment and Criminal Involvement." American Sociological Review 49: 398-411.

Thornberry, T.P. and M. Farnworth 1982 "Social Correlates of Criminal Involvement." American Sociological Review 47: 505-518.

Thornberry, T.P., A.J. Lizotte, M.D. Krohn, M. Farnworth and S.J. Jang. 1991 "Testing Interactional Theory: An Examination of Reciprocal Causal Relationships Among Family, School, and Delinquency." Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 82(1): 3-33.

Thrasher, F. M. 1927 The Gang. Chicago: University og Chicago Press.

Trojanowicz, R.C. and M. Morash 1987 Juvenile Delinquency: Concepts and Control. Englewoods Cliffs. NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Valentine, C.A. 1968 Culture and Poverty. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wallace, C. 1987 For Richer, For Poorer. London: Tavistock.

Wallerstein, J.S., and J.B. Kelly 1980 Surviving the Breakup: How Parents and Children Cope with Divorce. New York: Basic Books.

Webber, M. 1991 Street Kids: The Tradegy of Canada's Runaways. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Weiner, B. 1986 An Attributional Theory of Motivation and Emotion. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Weiner, B., D. Russell and D. Lerman. 1978 "Affective Conseuqences of Causal Ascriptions." in J. Harvey, W. Wicks and R.F. Kidd (eds.) New Directions in Attributional Research 2:59-88 Hillsdale N.J.:Erlbaum.

Weiner, B., D. Russell and D. Lerman. 1979 "The Cognition-Emotion Process in Achievement-Related Contexts. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology :1211-1220.

Weissman, J.C. 1978 "Understanding the Drugs and Crime Connection: A Systematic Examination of Drugs and Crime Relationships." Journal of Psychedelic Drugs 10:171-192.

White, Helen Raskin, Robert J Pandina, and Randy Lagrange. 1987. Longitudinal Predictors of Serious Substance Abuse and Delinquency." Criminology 25:715-740.

Willis, P. 1986 "Unemployment: The Final Inequality." British Journal of Sociology of Education 7:155-169.

Wilson, J.Q. and R.J. Herrnstein 1985 Crime and Human Nature. New York: Simon and Schuester.

Wilson, W.J. 1987 The Truly Disadvantaged, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wolfgang, M.E. and F. Ferracuti. 1967 The Subculture of Violence. London: Tavistock.

Wright, J.D. 1989 Address Unknown. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Wright, K.N. 1981 Crime and Criminal Justice in a Declining Economy. Cambridge, M.A. Oelgeschlager, Gunn and Hain.

Zinberg, N.E. 1984 Drug, Set, and Setting: The Social Bases of Controlled Use. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

APPENDIX A

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR VARIABLES IN ORIGINAL REGESSION

VARIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6
(1)AGE	1.000	-	-	-	-	-
(2)CLASS	-.024	1.000	-	-	-	-
(3)FAM UNEMPLMENT	-.104	.289	1.000	-	-	-
(4)LIVING CIR	.193	-.002	-.065	1.000	-	-
(5)FAM STRUCTURE	-.017	-.177	-.136	-.053	1.000	-
(6)INSTRUMENTAL	.018	.080	.038	-.131	.032	1.000
(7)RELATIONAL	.218	.048	.024	-.235	-.067	.437
(8)COERCIVE	.079	-.041	-.081	.200	.155	-.181
(9)GRADE	.319	.114	.011	-.066	.024	.037
(10)SCHOOL	.221	-.019	-.071	-.118	.071	.260
(11)PAST CRIME	-.087	-.007	.060	.047	-.042	-.182
(12)CURRENT EM	-.145	.043	.139	.148	-.010	-.059
(13)TOTAL JOBS	.361	.040	.033	.110	-.018	-.003
(14)TOT UNEMPL	.205	-.062	-.096	.025	.056	.112
(15)TOT DISCOUR	-.300	-.062	.070	.033	-.010	-.149
(16)WAGE	.376	-.108	-.110	-.142	.105	.069
(17)FINANCE	-.030	.022	-.109	.091	.015	.091
(18)PEER PRES.	.211	-.005	-.175	.057	.059	-.058
(19)PEER HELP	-.290	.024	.147	.040	-.113	-.181
(20)NFA	.203	-.050	-.108	.478	.053	-.275
(21)DRUG INV.	.007	.024	-.007	.166	-.101	-.183
(22)DRUG ATTACK	.029	.037	.030	.050	-.083	-.279
(23)DRUG STEAL	-.017	-.107	-.010	.044	-.094	-.199

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6
(24)DRUG CRIME	.009	-.033	.031	.085	-.074	-.268
(25)COMPETENCE	.105	-.151	-.116	.061	.096	.024
(26)MOTIVATION	-.332	.022	.052	.029	.076	-.288
(27)INTERVIEW	-.177	-.029	-.039	-.038	.198	-.082
(28)RECESSION	.130	-.022	-.121	-.011	.069	-.120
(29)STRAIN	-.015	.112	-.028	.125	.033	-.038
(30)GUILTY	.111	-.034	-.034	-.050	-.010	.060
(31)ANGER	.280	-.087	-.094	.064	-.010	.029
(32)HELPLESS	.183	-.161	-.049	.021	-.064	-.065
(33)DEPRESSED	.328	-.125	-.038	.148	.064	-.023
(34)TOTAL CRIME	-.082	.156	.000	.229	.071	-.307
(35)PROP. CRIME	-.266	.061	.029	.267	-.083	-.281
(36)VIOL. CRIME	-.232	.207	.057	.070	-.051	-.175
(37)NARCOTICS	.080	.160	-.074	.133	.118	-.220

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	7	8	9	10	11	12
(1)AGE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2)CLASS	-	-	-	-	-	-
(3)FAM UNEMPLMENT	-	-	-	-	-	-
(4)LIVING CIR	-	-	-	-	-	-
(5)FAM STRUCTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(6)INSTRUMENTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(7)RELATIONAL	1.000	-	-	-	-	-
(8)COERCIVE	-.286	1.000	-	-	-	-
(9)GRADE	.183	-.086	1.000	-	-	-
(10)SCHOOL	.298	-.053	.435	1.000	-	-
(11)PAST CRIME	-.181	.021	-.125	-.192	1.000	-
(12)CURRENT EM	-.014	-.023	-.077	-.041	-.005	1.000
(13)TOTAL JOBS	.005	.153	.074	.065	.018	-.057
(14)TOT UNEMPL	.173	.001	.139	.156	-.203	.147
(15)TOT DISCOUR	-.197	.066	-.250	-.171	.273	.158
(16)WAGE	.126	.083	.214	.227	-.083	-.693
(17)FINANCE	.045	-.004	.065	.122	.037	-.027
(18)PEER PRES.	-.046	.061	.022	-.018	.038	-.075
(19)PEER HELP	-.100	-.024	-.231	-.230	.328	.163
(20)NFA	-.215	.268	-.054	-.177	.095	.070
(21)DRUG INV.	-.079	.277	-.110	-.271	.276	.101
(22)DRUG ATTACK	-052	.215	.014	-.281	.224	.091
(23)DRUG STEAL	-.123	.073	-.112	-.309	.204	.071

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	7	8	9	10	11	12
(24)DRUG CRIME	-.092	.188	- .086	-.335	.263	.107
(25)COMPETENCE	.017	-.007	-.044	.020	-.015	.047
(26)MOTIVATION	-.151	-.091	-.123	-.254	.125	.081
(27)INTERVIEW	-.088	-.101	-.082	-.031	-.076	-.076
(28)RECESSION	-.063	.019	-.017	.072	.089	.049
(29)STRAIN	-.031	.053	.016	-.044	.095	.013
(30)GUILTY	.101	-.082	-.042	.019	-.126	-.077
(31)ANGER	.152	.037	.030	.063	-.136	-.003
(32)HELPLESS	.093	-.018	-.003	-.049	-.026	-.024
(33)DEPRESSED	.170	.047	.102	.102	-.060	-.070
(34)TOTAL CRIME	-.230	.220	-.004	-.265	.238	.166
(35)PROP. CRIME	-.301	.166	-.202	-.262	.266	.129
(36)VIOL. CRIME	-.123	.285	-.155	-.276	.288	.123
(37)NARCOTICS	-.138	.127	.113	-.174	.129	.098

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	13	14	15	16	17	18
(1)AGE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2)CLASS	-	-	-	-	-	-
(3)FAM UNEMPLMENT	-	-	-	-	-	-
(4)LIVING CIR	-	-	-	-	-	-
(5)FAM STRUCTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(6)INSTRUMENTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(7)RELATIONAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(8)COERCIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(9)GRADE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(10)SCHOOL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(11)PAST CRIME	-	-	-	-	-	-
(12)CURRENT EM	-	-	-	-	-	-
(13)TOTAL JOBS	1.000	-	-	-	-	-
(14)TOT UNEMPL	.121	1.000	-	-	-	-
(15)TOT DISCOUR	-.178	-.595	1.000	-	-	-
(16)WAGE	.068	-.043	-.210	1.000	-	-
(17)FINANCE	-.113	-.124	.117	.050	1.000	-
(18)PEER PRES.	.132	-.089	-.008	.027	.063	1.000
(19)PEER HELP	-.103	-.220	.358	-.265	.111	-.068
(20)NFA	.058	.015	.005	-.069	.053	.005
(21)DRUG INV.	-.007	-.153	.225	-.130	.071	-.032
(22)DRUG ATTACK	.030	-.048	.065	-.086	-.002	.011
(23)DRUG STEAL	-.005	-.108	.162	-.143	.029	.041

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	13	14	15	16	17	18
(24)DRUG CRIME	.073	-.134	.178	-.135	.021	.013
(25)COMPETENCE	-.040	.138	-.009	-.042	-.102	.004
(26)MOTIVATION	-.187	-.310	.383	-.099	.062	.041
(27)INTERVIEW	-.226	-.092	.122	.052	.027	-.040
(28)RECESSION	.120	.137	-.116	-.016	-.126	.005
(29)STRAIN	-.014	-.023	.074	.080	.079	-.075
(30)GUILTY	-.088	.150	-.124	.197	-.115	-.129
(31)ANGER	.074	.356	-.283	.115	-.155	-.048
(32)HELPLESS	.078	.079	-.008	.083	-.098	-.067
(33)DEPRESSED	.246	.240	-.209	.240	-.192	-.065
(34)TOTAL CRIME	-.005	-.114	.259	-.206	.171	.081
(35)PROP. CRIME	-.059	-.198	.317	-.242	.112	-.018
(36)VIOL. CRIME	-.073	-.146	.240	-.162	.176	-.045
(37)NARCOTICS	.061	-.051	.099	-.071	.072	.049

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	19	20	21	22	23	24
(1)AGE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2)CLASS	-	-	-	-	-	-
(3)FAM UNEMPLMENT	-	-	-	-	-	-
(4)LIVING CIR	-	-	-	-	-	-
(5)FAM STRUCTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(6)INSTRUMENTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(7)RELATIONAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(8)COERCIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(9)GRADE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(10)SCHOOL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(11)PAST CRIME	-	-	-	-	-	-
(12)CURRENT EM	-	-	-	-	-	-
(13)TOTAL JOBS	-	-	-	-	-	-
(14)TOT UNEMPL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(15)TOT DISCOUR	-	-	-	-	-	-
(16)WAGE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(17)FINANCE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(18)PEER PRES.	-	-	-	-	-	-
(19)PEER HELP	1.000	-	-	-	-	-
(20)NFA	.092	1.000	-	-	-	-
(21)DRUG INV.	.397	.204	1.000	-	-	-
(22)DRUG ATTACK	.275	.190	.530	1.000	-	-
(23)DRUG STEAL	.470	.017	.503	-	1.000	-

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	19	20	21	22	23	24
(24)DRUG CRIME	.472	-.230	.647	-	-	1.000
(25)COMPETENCE	-.052	.115	-.053	-.108	-.033	-.087
(26)MOTIVATION	.244	.038	.150	.145	.148	.181
(27)INTERVIEW	-.012	.046	-.139	-.213	-.057	-.180
(28)RECESSION	-.048	.149	.012	-.050	.009	-.028
(29)STRAIN	.108	.121	.118	.002	.108	.067
(30)GUILTY	-.088	-.050	-.020	-.006	.123	.073
(31)ANGER	-.092	.065	-.017	-.028	.109	.062
(32)HELPLESS	-.020	-.018	-.044	.046	-.054	-.005
(33)DEPRESSED	-.130	.030	-.038	.012	-.013	.017
(34)TOTAL CRIME	.291	.328	.533	-	-	-
(35)PROP. CRIME	.484	.284	.455	-	.411	-
(36)VIOL. CRIME	.312	.257	.439	.527	-	-
(37)NARCOTICS	.118	.201	.469	-	-	.279

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	25	26	27	28	29	30
(1)AGE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2)CLASS	-	-	-	-	-	-
(3)FAM UNEMPLMENT	-	-	-	-	-	-
(4)LIVING CIR	-	-	-	-	-	-
(5)FAM STRUCTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(6)INSTRUMENTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(7)RELATIONAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(8)COERCIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(9)GRADE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(10)SCHOOL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(11)PAST CRIME	-	-	-	-	-	-
(12)CURRENT EM	-	-	-	-	-	-
(13)TOTAL JOBS	-	-	-	-	-	-
(14)TOT UNEMPL	-	-	-	-	-	-
(15)TOT DISCOUR	-	-	-	-	-	-
(16)WAGE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(17)FINANCE	-	-	-	-	-	-
(18)PEER PRES.	-	-	-	-	-	-
(19)PEER HELP	-	-	-	-	-	-
(20)NFA	-	-	-	-	-	-
(21)DRUG INV.	-	-	-	-	-	-
(22)DRUG ATTACK	-	-	-	-	-	-
(23)DRUG STEAL	-	-	-	-	-	-

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	25	26	27	28	29	30
(24)DRUG CRIME	-	-	-	-	-	-
(25)COMPETENCE	1.000	-	-	-	-	-
(26)MOTIVATION	.082	1.000	-	-	-	-
(27)INTERVIEW	.351	.268	1.000	-	-	-
(28)RECESSION	.405	.063	.293	1.000	-	-
(29)STRAIN	-.014	.006	-.014	.032	1.000	-
(30)GUILTY	.125	-.038	-.001	-.021	.086	1.000
(31)ANGER	.190	-.239	.021	.154	.007	.380
(32)HELPLESS	.224	-.083	.058	.135	-.024	.098
(33)DEPRESSED	.117	-.238	-.057	.082	-.025	.373
(34)TOTAL CRIME	-.132	.173	-.112	-.008	.247	-.182
(35)PROP. CRIME	-.120	.210	-.104	-.010	.231	-.086
(36)VIOL. CRIME	-.118	.214	-.093	-.094	.116	-.163
(37)NARCOTICS	-.129	.067	-.081	.050	.140	-.154

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
(1)AGE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2)CLASS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(3)FAM UNEMPLMENT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(4)LIVING CIR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(5)FAM STRUCTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(6)INSTRUMENTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(7)RELATIONAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(8)COERCIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(9)GRADE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10)SCHOOL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(11)PAST CRIME	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(12)CURRENT EM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(13)TOTAL JOBS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(14)TOT UNEMPL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(15)TOT DISCOUR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(16)WAGE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(17)FINANCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(18)PEER PRES.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(19)PEER HELP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(20)NFA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(21)DRUG INV.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(22)DRUG ATTACK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(23)DRUG STEAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

CORRELATION MATRIX CONTINUED

VARIABLE	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
(24)DRUG CRIME	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(25)COMPETENCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(26)MOTIVATION	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(27)INTERVIEW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(28)RECESSION	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(29)STRAIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(30)GUILTY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(31)ANGER	1.000	-	-	-	-	-	-
(32)HELPLESS	.322	1.000	-	-	-	-	-
(33)DEPRESSED	.504	.265	1.000	-	-	-	-
(34)TOTAL CRIME	-.106	-.082	-.064	1.000	-	-	-
(35)PROP. CRIME	-.080	-.125	-.029	.676	1.000	-	-
(36)VIOL. CRIME	-.119	-.078	-.160	.676	.525	1.000	-
(37)NARCOTICS	-.053	-.079	-.007	.797	.324	.421	1.000

APPENDIX B
TOTAL CRIME INDEX REGRESSION

	BETA	**SIG T**
BACKGROUND		
AGE	-.1061	.2064
CLASS	.1693	.0072**
FAMILY STRUCTURE	.1442	.0185**
INSTRUMENTAL CONTROL	-.1277	.0640
RELATIONAL CONTROL	-.0643	.3687
COERCIVE CONTROL	-.0302	.6515
PARENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	-.0017	.9777
EDUCATION	.1203	.0775
SCHOOL EXPERIENCE	-.1067	.1414
PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY	.0056	.9289
CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES	-.0013	.9956
LABOUR MARKET		
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS	.0042	.9597
MONTHS UNEMPLOYED	.1219	.1139
MONTHS DISCOURAGED	.1838	.0250*
LEGAL INCOME	-.0528	.5814
TOTAL NUMBER OF JOBS	-.0370	.5682
STREET		
LENGTH OF TIME ON STREET	.1680	.0087**
PEER PRESSURE	.1019	.0942
PEER INVOLVMENT	-.0176	.8090
DRUG INVOLVEMENT	.4042	.0000****
CRIME UNDER DRUGS	-.0528	.9574
INTERPRETIVE		
COMPETENCE	.0722	.2841
INTERVIEW/APPEARANCE	.1088	.1123
MOTIVATION	-.0012	.9868
RECESSION	-.0235	.7269
STRAIN	.1470	.0133**
GUILT	.1340	.0465*
ANGER	.0074	.9192
HELPLESSNESS	-.0129	.8360
DEPRESSION	-.1149	.1263
FINANCE	-.1240	.0406*
R2	.5548	
ADJUSTED R2	.4520	

PROPERTY CRIME INDEX REGRESSION

	BETA	**SIG T**
BACKGROUND		
AGE	-.2465	.0045**
CLASS	.0744	.2500
FAMILY STRUCTURE	-.0210	.7345
INSTRUMENTAL CONTROL	-.0693	.3197
RELATIONAL CONTROL	-.1189	.1044
COERCIVE CONTROL	-.0128	.8507
PARENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	-.0020	.9750
EDUCATION	-.0634	.5974
SCHOOL EXPERIENCE	-.0380	.6055
PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY	.0019	.9763
CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES	.1166	.1083
LABOUR MARKET		
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS	-.0641	.4519
MONTHS UNEMPLOYED	.0179	.8186
MONTHS DISCOURAGED	.1126	.1751
LEGAL INCOME	-.0497	.6188
TOTAL NUMBER OF JOBS	-.0410	.5330
STREET		
LENGTH OF TIME ON STREET	.1418	.0477*
PEER PRESSURE	.0352	.5701
PEER INVOLVMENT	.1727	.0229*
DRUG INVOLVEMENT	.1887	.0120**
CRIME UNDER DRUGS	.1428	.0632
INTERPRETIVE		
COMPETENCE	.0529	.4404
INTERVIEW/APPEARANCE	.1409	.0426*
MOTIVATION	-.0227	.7518
RECESSION	-.0624	.3663
STRAIN	.1252	.0385*
GUILT	.0719	.2933
ANGER	.0076	.9190
HELPLESSNESS	.0546	.3939
DEPRESSION	-.1805	.0191**
FINANCE	-.0574	.3498
R2	.5276	
ADJUSTED R2	.4313	

VIOLENT CRIME INDEX REGRESSION

	BETA	**SIG T**
BACKGROUND		
AGE	-.2160	.0112**
CLASS	.2219	.0005***
FAMILY STRUCTURE	-.0125	.8384
INSTRUMENTAL CONTROL	-.0177	.7995
RELATIONAL CONTROL	-.0402	.5778
COERCIVE CONTROL	-.1564	.0217*
PARENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	-.0168	.7872
EDUCATION	-.0801	.2430
SCHOOL EXPERIENCE	-.0292	.6868
PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY	.1236	.0512*
CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES	.0830	.2447
LABOUR MARKET		
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS	.0580	.4914
MONTHS UNEMPLOYED	.0575	.4567
MONTHS DISCOURAGED	.0850	.3011
LEGAL INCOME	.0799	.4070
TOTAL NUMBER OF JOBS	-.0551	.3988
STREET		
LENGTH OF TIME ON STREET	.2044	.0042**
PEER PRESSURE	-.0177	.7720
PEER INVOLVMENT	-.0195	.7807
DRUG INVOLVEMENT	.0969	.1983
CRIME UNDER DRUGS	.3655	.0000****
INTERPRETIVE		
COMPETENCE	.0121	.8578
INTERVIEW/APPEARANCE	.0528	.4436
MOTIVATION	-.0616	.3869
RECESSION	-.0702	.3016
STRAIN	.0353	.5533
GUILT	.1339	.0459*
ANGER	.0555	.4481
HELPLESSNESS	-.0048	.9387
DEPRESSION	-.0105	.8892
FINANCE	-.1298	.0333*
R2	.5386	
ADJUSTED R2	.4444	

DRUG CRIME INDEX REGRESSION

	BETA	**SIG T**
BACKGROUND		
AGE	.0447	.6399
CLASS	.1914	.0078**
FAMILY STRUCTURE	.1959	.0052**
INSTRUMENTAL CONTROL	-.1039	.1853
RELATIONAL CONTROL	-.0812	.3196
COERCIVE CONTROL	-.1220	.1110
PARENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	-.1003	.1569
EDUCATION	-.1655	.0338*
SCHOOL EXPERIENCE	-.1478	.0747
PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY	-.0350	.6225
CURRENT LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES	-.0256	.7509
LABOUR MARKET		
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS	.0736	.4397
MONTHS UNEMPLOYED	.0595	.4997
MONTHS DISCOURAGED	.1059	.2545
LEGAL INCOME	.0414	.7045
TOTAL NUMBER OF JOBS	.0038	.9590
STREET		
LENGTH OF TIME ON STREET	.0673	.4010
PEER PRESSURE	.0151	.8274
PEER INVOLVMENT	-.0534	.5209
DRUG INVOLVEMENT	.5000	.0000****
CRIME UNDER DRUGS	-.0638	.5051
INTERPRETIVE		
COMPETENCE	.1064	.1670
INTERVIEW/APPEARANCE	.0412	.5970
MOTIVATION	.0425	.5978
RECESSION	-.0583	.4478
STRAIN	.0539	.4218
GUILT	.1450	.0587*
ANGER	.0032	.9689
HELPLESSNESS	.0289	.6841
DEPRESSION	-.0802	.3483
FINANCE	-.0335	.6251
R2	.4075	
ADJUSTED R2	.2867	